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TRANSACTIONS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

VOLUME IV.



PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1860.



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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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IN preparing this volume of the Collections of the Antiquarian Society, the Publishing Committee have aimed to combine with a variety of subjects a degree of unity in the character of its contents.

Not more, however, for that reason, than because the principal materials provided for the work have required greater space than was anticipated, an article on the Sacrificial Mounds of the Scioto Valley, originally designed for this volume, and another on some peculiarities of the Indian Dialects, are reserved for future publication.

The documents now printed belong to the Colonial period of United-States history, and do not relate to the aboriginal antiquities of the country, except so far as portions of them may serve to illustrate the condition and habits of the natives as they appeared to the earliest settlers on our shores.

The Papers of Sir Ralph Lane, the Governor of Sir Walter Raleigh's first plantation; the Journal of Capt. Newport's voyage of discovery up James River; and the Narrative of Edward Maria Wingfield, the first President of the Jamestown Colony,—are entirely fresh materials for the history of North Carolina and Virginia at the beginning, and possess the merit of being the testimony of persons occupying the most prominent and responsible positions in the settlements, and having the best opportunities for observation.

.

The "New England's Rarities Discovered" of Josselyn exhibits the natural history of that region as it presented itself to the minds of the first comers, and as explained according to their views of science. It derives new interest from the copious and learned annotations of Professor TUCKERMAN, and fills a place in our means of information respecting the original and purely native productions of New England which no other document so fully supplies.

The Voyage to Spitzbergen, as connected with the mercantile enterprises of which these Colonies were the fruit, and with the men who planned or promoted their establishment, has important relations to that period of American history, and to a branch of inquiry which has, perhaps, received less particular attention than it deserves; viz., the commercial inducements, influences, and agencies, public and private, under which the coasts of the Northern Continent were explored, and projects for colonization in different localities conceived.

It will be seen, that, with the exception of Professor Tuckerman's contribution, the papers contained in the volume have been prepared by the several members of the Publishing Committee, each assuming a separate division of labor and responsibility. They jointly submit the result to the Society and the public, believing that whatever delays may have occurred in the fulfilment of their trust are compensated by the value of the additional matter which some of them have consequently been able to furnish from the archives of the mother-country.

S. F. HAVEN.  
EDWARD E. HALE.  
CHARLES DEANE.



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ELECTED OCTOBER 21, 1859.

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# ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

FROM

THE STATE-PAPER OFFICE, LONDON, AND THE BRITISH  
MUSEUM;

ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF

Sir Walter Raleigh's First American Colony,

AND THE

COLONY AT JAMESTOWN.

---

With an Appendix,

CONTAINING A MEMOIR OF SIR RALPH LANE,  
THE GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY OF ROANOKE.

---

EDITED BY EDWARD E. HALE, A.M.,

Member of the American Antiquarian Society.





# RALPH LANE'S LETTERS

TO

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM AND SIR PHILIP  
SIDNEY.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THESE letters are printed from copies taken from the originals in London. They are the earliest words of the English language, as written in this country, now in existence ; indeed, the first of them may be the earliest which were written here at all. We received the first three of them, and the narrative regarding James River which follows in this volume, from our associate, Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, who gives the following account of them : —

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR, — A few years ago, I directed copies to be made of very many colonial papers that are preserved in the British State-paper Office at Westminster. Among the documents of which I thus obtained possession, those relating to the Colony of Virginia alone, previous to the year 1688, fill nine folio volumes, averaging more than six hundred pages each. They came to me without annotation or comment, as faithful transcripts of the originals, made by the most skilful copyists. Agreeably to your request, I place at your disposal the oldest papers of the series. Among them you will find three letters from Ralph Lane to Secretary Walsingham.

They differ a little from the accounts in Hakluyt; but I leave to you the comparison. . . .

The other paper is a relation of the first English voyage up the James River. You will find the substance of it in Purchas and in Smith; but this relation has an interest, from its fulness of details and its indisputable authenticity. By the help of Smith's map and the best modern one, I hope you will be able to identify every point referred to in the James River.

Yours very truly,

GEO. BANCROFT.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE.

These letters were put in my hands by the Publishing Committee. Having an opportunity to visit the English State-paper Office before they were published, I examined the original manuscripts with great interest. So carefully had Mr. Bancroft's copies been made by Mr. Sainsbury, the accomplished officer now in charge of the American papers, that I found the originals added nothing to what we had. With the letters to Sir Francis Walsingham, however, I found a fourth, also of Aug. 12, 1585, written by Ralph Lane to Sir Philip Sidney, the distinguished son-in-law of Walsingham. We now publish this letter with those to Walsingham.

They were all sent from the "new fort," Port Ferdinando,—the Colony planted on Roanoke Island, on the coast of North Carolina (then Virginia), at the cost and under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh. Ralph Lane was the commander or governor of this Colony.

The contemporary accounts of it heretofore published are contained in the third volume of Hakluyt's "Collections" and in Cates's "Voyage of Sir Francis Drake."

In Hakluyt is a paper by Gov. Lane, to which he alludes in one of the letters which we now publish. The first of these accounts is in the form of a diary, ascribed by Dr. Hawks,<sup>1</sup> with apparent correctness, to Arthur Barlowe, one of the captains who had been on the voyage of the previous year. The history of the expedition, up to the date of the letters which we now publish, is briefly this: —

Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out two vessels to the coast of Virginia in the year 1584. They had sailed on the 27th of April, and returned safely to England about the middle of September. Their report, made to Raleigh,<sup>2</sup> gave a most favorable account of the coast of North Carolina, which the Queen called Virginia; and, the next spring, Sir Walter sent out his cousin Greenville as “generall,” in charge of seven ships, with a colony for settlement there. Of this Colony, Master Ralph Lane was appointed, by Raleigh, commander. The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April. After various adventures in the West Indies, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina near the end of June; and, on the 26th, came to anchor at Wocokon. This was the Indian name which these adventurers applied to the channel now known as Ocracock Inlet into Pamlico Sound. On the map published by them on their return, it was twenty-two leagues north-east of Cape Lookout. Cape Lookout's name on this map, in De Bry's Collection, is “Promontorium Tremendum,” suggesting our Cape Fear, which is farther west. On

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<sup>1</sup> In his History of North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup> See Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 246.

the 29th, the admiral's ship, the "Tiger," was lost in attempting to enter the so-called harbor. "On the 27th of July," says the diary, "our fleet anchored at Hatorask; and there we rested." Hatorask is not the modern Cape Hatteras, but a channel into Pamlico Sound, not far distant from that now open, — just to the south of Roanoke Island. This island was selected as the site of the Colony; a selection which proved unfortunate.

"The 29th," continues the diary, "Grangino, brother to King Wingina, came aboard the Admiral [Master Philip Amadas], and Manteo with him.

"Aug. 2, the Admiral was sent to Weapomeiok.

"The 5th, Master John Arundell was sent for England.

"The 25th, our general weighed anchor, and set sail for England."

The first two letters, which are now published for the first time, were probably sent home by one of the vessels of the fleet thus returning. The date of the third letter is later than that assigned for Sir Richard Greenville's return; but it was probably sent by some lingering vessel of the expedition.

The various narratives of this first Colony are, —

I. Diary of the voyage (April 9 — Oct. 18); which is printed by Hakluyt, and reprinted by Dr. Hawks, who ascribes it to Barlowe.

II. Ralph Lane's two letters to Sir Francis Walsingham, and his letter to Sir Philip Sidney, Aug. 12, 1585; now printed for the first time.

III. An extract from Ralph Lane's letter of Sept. 3, 1585, to "Mr. Richard Hakluyt, Esq.;" not Rev. Richard Hakluyt,

as Dr. Hawks suggests, but his kinsman of the Inner Temple. This extract is printed in Hakluyt, and reprinted by Dr. Hawks.

IV. Ralph Lane's third letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sept. 8, 1585; which is now printed for the first time.

V. and VI. Lane's and Hariot's accounts, preserved in Hakluyt, and copied by Dr. Hawks; published after their return.

VII. The narrative in De Bry, embracing Hariot's account, and occasionally mentioning some fact which we do not find elsewhere. To these additional intimations, Dr. Hawks has carefully called attention.

VIII. Cates's account of Drake's voyage. This narrative was first printed in 1589.<sup>3</sup> The title is, "A Svmmarie and Trve Discovrse of Sir Frances Drake's West Indian Voyage; wherein were taken the Townes of Saint Jago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena, & Saint Augustine. Imprinted at London by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke-Friars, by Ludgate. 1589."<sup>4</sup> It is reprinted in the fourth volume of Hakluyt.

IX. I may add to these "the original drawings of the habits, towns, customs, of the West Indians; and of the plants, birds, fishes, &c., found in Greenland, Virginia, Guiana, &c.; by Mr. John White." These water-color drawings, a few of which only are preserved in De Bry, are preserved in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum. Some account of this curious collection will be found at the close of Lane's letters.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Thomas Cates has not been observed elsewhere: and the resemblance to Thomas Gates has raised the suggestion, that this might have been that gentleman, afterwards Sir Thomas Gates, "who has the honor," says Mr. Bancroft, "to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia;" and that the name might have been misprinted in Hakluyt. But they were two men. A good copy of the rare tract of Thomas Cates is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, being the original copy used by Dr. Prince. It was presented by Hon. C. H. Warren to that society last year. The initials T. C. and the name Thomas Cates both appear in it. Cates's name had escaped Watt, and even the accurate Allibone.

<sup>4</sup> On the reverse of the title is an advertisement. The dedication of two pages is signed "Thomas Cates." Text, 52 pp. 4to.

LETTER I.<sup>1</sup>

*Ralph Lane<sup>2</sup> to Sir Francis Walsingham.<sup>3</sup>*

12TH AUGUST, 1585.

RIGHT HONORABLE,—The bearer hereof, Mr. Attekynson, your honor's servaunte, hath carried him selfe soo honestly and soo industryously in all occasyones and acciones of thys voyeage, that I canne not lesse doo, havynge sume prynsy-palle chardege in the same, to note him, by thys my bolde letter to your honor, for one moost worthye of grete accompte emongest us, and with your honor not to bee the lesse reckenned of in thys behalfe; havynge doonne your honor, by suche hys honeste demeanors, as mych honor as eny servaunte canne doo to soo honorable a master.

I have also wrytten to your honor, by your servante Mr. Russelle, to a lyke effecte; who, notwithstandinge the generale's dysplesure towards him, and his compleyentes, wyll neverthesse, I am persuaded, cleare him selfe very well to your honor of every chardege or imputacione whatsoever. And even soo, sir, humbly comyttyng your honor to the

<sup>1</sup> These letters are from the department, "Colonial Series," in the State-paper Office.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Lane was the Governor of the Colony of one hundred and seven men, from the time it was left till it re-embarked the next year for England. Some memoranda of his life are brought together in the Appendix, A.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Walsingham, born 1536, died 1590; appointed Secretary and one of the Privy Council by Cecil. Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh*, says that Walsingham had a personal interest in, as well as an official oversight of, the plantations; "for I find a bundle entitled '*Matters relating to Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyages*' mentioned in the inventory of that Secretary's State Papers relative to the navy about this time." The margin explains this by the note, "Sir Francis Walsingham's Table Book. Manuscript 8vo, p. 44." I searched in vain among the voluminous Walsingham MSS. in the British Museum for this "Table Book" or the manuscripts alluded to; but I must hope that, perhaps among the State Papers, some other explorer will be more successful. — E. E. H.



mycyone of the Allmyghty, for thys tyme I take my leave of the same.

From the Porte Ferdynando,<sup>4</sup> in Virginia, the 12th of Auguste, 1585.

Your honor's humble and most assured,

RAFE LANE.

*Indorsed.* — To the Right Honorable Sir FRANCIS WALLSYNGHAM, Kt., prynsyall Secrettary to her majesty, and one of her highness's most honorable Pryvy Counselle, thys letter, &c., at the courte of England.

## LETTER II.

*Ralph Lane to Sir Francis Walsingham.*

12TH AUGUST, 1585.

RIGHT HONORABLE,—With humble remembrance of all dewetye and most hartye affeccione unto you, accordinge as I acknowledge my selfe to have moost good cause. The generalle's returne in hys owene personne into Englande dothe presently cutte mee of from usinge cyrcumstances in reporte of the particularyties of thys countrey in thys my letter unto your honor. Only thys, yt maye plese you by mee in generally to understande, that thys our presente arryvalle into thes partes, thoughe late in the yeare (and that whoolly thoroughe the defalte of him<sup>5</sup> that intendethe to accuse others), hathe neverthelesse dyscouverdde unto us soo many, soo rare, and soo singulare comodytyes (by the unyversalle opynyone bothe of our apothycaryes and all our merchauntes here) of thys her majesty's newe kingdom of Virginia, as all the kingdomes and states of Chrystendom, theyere comodytyes joyegned in one together, doo not yealde ether more good or more plenty-

<sup>4</sup> The origin of the name is explained in the third letter.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Sir Richard Greenville. (See the third letter.)



fulle whatsooever for publyck use ys needefull or pleasinge for delyghte; they partycularytyes wheroof I leave to the generale's reporte, as also to the judgements of all your honors, your selfe, and that uppon the vyewe of a grete amasse of good thynges that hee bryngethe hys shippe presently frayegheted with all, to avoyde all suspycyone of fraude. Theye thynges that wee have had tyme as yeate to see and to sende are but suche as are fyrst cumen to hande with very smalle serche, and which doo presente them selves uppon the upper face of the earthe; they barreneste and most suncken plattes whereof doo, neverthelesse, every where yealde somewhat that ether for knowen virtue ys of pryce in Chrysten-dom, or some what at leeste to the smelle plesinge; not havynge as yeate founde, in all our serche, one stynckinge weede growynge in thys lande,—a matter, in all our opynyones here, very straunge. Into the bowelles of the earthe, as yeate, wee have not serched; and therefore, not meanynge to advertyse your honor of eny thinge that myne owene eyes have not seene, I leave to certefye your honor of what lyekelyhuddes founde, or what the savvages reporte of better matters. The mayene terrytory, as yt ys vaste and huge, and replenysshed as beeforesaid, soo also all the entryes into the same are soo by nature fortelyed to the sea warde, by reason of a shoelle and moost daungerouse coaste above 150 leagues lyinge all alonge thys her majesty's domynione allready dyscoverdde, that yt ys not with grete shippinge at eny hande to bee delte with all. There bee only, in all, three entryes and portes: the one which wee have named Trynytye Harboroughe;<sup>6</sup> the other, Ococan,<sup>7</sup> in the entry whereof all our fleete struck agrounde;

<sup>6</sup> Trinity Harbor has long since been closed, in the frequent changes of the long island range which Lane describes in this letter. As represented in Wyth's map in De Bry's Collection, it opened a little to the north of Roanoke Island, opposite the northern cape of Albemarle Sound. Wyth's map is copied in Dr. Hawks's North Carolina and in Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

<sup>7</sup> Probably not Wokokon, — which, as above, is near Cape Fear, — but the second inlet indicated on the maps in De Bry, and marked in both with sinking ships in the neighborhood.

and, the "Tyger" lying beatynge upon the shoalle for the space of two houres by the dyalle, wee were all in extreeme hasarde of beyng caste awaye : but, in the ende, by the mere worck of God, flottyng of, wee ranne her agrounde harde to the shoare ; and soo, with grete spoyelle of our provysyones, saved our selves and the noble shippe also, with her backe whoolle, which all they marryners aborde thoughte coolde not possybelly but have beene brocken in sunder, havynge abydden by juste talle above eighty-nine strockes agrounde. The third entry, and beste harboroughe of all the reste, ys the porte which is called Ferdynando,<sup>8</sup> dyscoverdde by the master and pylotte maggiore of our fleete, your honor's servante, Symon Ferdynando ; who trewly hathe carryed him selfe bothe with grete skille and grete government all thys voyeage, notwithstanding thys grete crosse to us all, as the whoolle gyng<sup>9</sup> of masters and marryners wyll with one voyce affyrme. The two harboroughs above mensyoned (whereof Trynnty Harboroughe ys one, and only of eight foote upon the barre at hyghe water) are as you may judge. Thys other, called the Ferdynando, hathe a barre also, but at twelve foote upon the same at hyghe water, and the barre very shorte, beyng within three, four, and five fathoms water ; soo as thys porte, at the poynte of the lande, beyng fortifyed with a skouse, yt ys not to be entredde by all the force that Spayne canne make, wee havynge the favure of God.

The clymate ys soo whoollesom, yeate somewhat tendying to heate, as that wee have not had one sycke synce wee entredde into the countrey ; but sundry that came sycke are recovered of longe dyseases, especially of reumes.

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<sup>8</sup> This entry is that marked as Hatorasck on the two maps in De Bry. The praise of Simon Fernando here is to be noticed, as he was afterwards one of Gov. White's assistants, when, in 1587, another colony was sent out. In White's journal, he is constantly charged with treachery to the party ; and to his desertion the capital error of their remaining at Roanoke, instead of seeking a better point of settlement, is ascribed.

<sup>9</sup> Probably "gang."

My selfe have undertaken, with the favoure of God and in hys feare, with a good compaignye moore, as well of gentlemen as others, to remayne here the returne of a newe supply; as resolute rather to loose our lyfes then to deferre a possessione to her majesty, our countrey, and that our moost Noble Patrone, Sir Walter Rawelley, of soo noble a kingdome, as by hys moost woorthy endevoure and ynfynytte chardege, as also of your honor and the reste of the mooste honorable adventurerres, an honorable entry ys made into (by the mercy of God) to the conqueste of; and, for myne owne parte, doo finde my selfe better contented to lyve with fysshe for my dayely foode, and water for my dayely dryncke, in the prosecutione of suche one accione, then oute of the same to lyve in the greateste plenty that the Courte coolde gyve mee: comforted cheefely here unto with an assuerance of her Majesty's gretenes hereby to growe by the Addycione of suche a kingdome as thys ys to the<sup>1</sup> reste of her Domynyones; by meane whereof, lykewyse, the Church of Chryste thoroughe Chrys-tendom may, by the mercy of God, in shorte tyme finde a relyfe and freedom from the servytude and tyranny that by Spayene (beynge the swoorde of that Antychryste of Rome and hys secte) the same hathe of long tyme beene most myserabelly oppressed with. Not doutyng, in the mercy of God, to bee suffyciently provyded for by him, and most assuered by fayethe in Chryste, that, rather then hee wyll sufferre hys ennemyes the Papystes to tryumphe over the overthrowe ether of thys most Chrystyan Accione, or of us hys poore servantes, in the thoroughe famyne or other wantes,—beyng in a vaste Countrey yett unmannerde, thoughe most apte for yt,—that hee wyll comaunde even the ravenne to feede us, As hee did by hys servante the Prophett Abacuc,<sup>2</sup> and that only for hys

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<sup>1</sup> "ys the to" by mistake in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion to Habakkuk is unfortunate; but, in 1585, Bibles were not widely circulated. Hariot, Lane's companion, had one, however, in this Colony. His language is, "Many times, and in every towne where I came, according as I was able, I made

mercy's sake. To the which I most hartely comytt your honor; and, with my humble comendaciones to my lady, your Wyffe, for thys tyme I take my leave of the same. — From the Porte Ferdynando, in Virginia, the 12th of Auguste, 1585.

Your honor's humble and most assuered,  
duryng lyfe,  
RAFE LANE.

*Indorsed.* — To the Right Honorable Sir FRANCIS WALLSINGHAM, Kt., prynsypalle Secrettary to her majesty, and one of her highness's most honorable Pryvy Counselle, thys bee att the Courte of England.

### LETTER III.

*Ralph Lane to Sir Francis Walsingham.*

8TH SEPTEMBER, 1585.

RIGHT HONORABLE, — Sythence Sir R. Greenfeelde, by the tyme of the arryvalle of thys my letter, ys to delyver unto your honor, as also to Sir Walter Rawlley, our lorde, sundry complayntes against sundry gentlemen of thys servyce, and partycularely against our Hyghe Marsshell; Mr. Candysshe;<sup>3</sup> Mr. Edward Gorge;<sup>3</sup> Mr. Frances Brooke, our Threasurer;<sup>3</sup> and Capt. Clarck,<sup>3</sup> captain of the flee-boate; I thoughte good thus

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declaration of the contents of the Bible; . . . and although I told them the booke, materially and of itselfe, was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceive, but onely the doctrine therein contened, yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of." — *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Cavendish was afterwards a celebrated freebooter, and knighted by Queen Elizabeth after his return from the South Sea. He died, 1593, in his thirtieth year. In the diary of this voyage in *Hakluyt*, he is thus named: "The principall gentlemen of our companie were these, — M. Ralph Lane, M. *Tomas Candish*, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukely, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John *Clarke*, and divers others;

much to advertise your honor, and that moost trewly concernynge them: that yt ys not possyble for men to behave them selves moore fayethefully and moore industryously in an Accione (the same, by the generalle's only grete defalte, havynge beene made bothe moost payenefulle and moost perellouse) then every of thes gentlemen, but especially Mr. Candysshe, our High Marsshall, and Mr. Francis Brooke, our Threasurer, have donne, and that ever since the fyrste to the laste. Contrary wyse, how Sir R. Greenfeelde, generalle, hathe demeaned him selfe, from the fyrst daye of hys entry into governement at Plymouthe untill the daye of hys departure from hence over the barre in the Porte Ferdinando, farre otherwyse then my hoope of him; thoughe very agreeable to the expectaciones and predyccions of sundry wyse and godly personnes of hys owene countreye, that knewe hym better then my selfe. And partycularely how tyrannouse an execucione, withoute eny occasyone of my parte offerred, hee not only purposed, but even propounded the same, to have broughte mee, by indyrecte meanes and moost untrewes surmyses, to the questione for my lyfe, and that only for an advyse in a publycke consultacione by mee gyven; which, yf yt had beene executed, had beene for the grete good of us all, but moost cheefely of

whereof some were captaines, and other some assistants for counsell and good directions in the voyage." — *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 307.

Mr. Edward Gorge may have been Edward Gorges, of Somersetshire, born in 1526; or his son, Sir Edward Gorges, born in 1564, who had not been knighted in 1585.

There is another Sir Edward Gorges of the same period, the son of Sir Thomas Gorges and his wife Helena, relict of William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. This Sir Edward Gorges was knighted April 1, 1603, and created Baron Daudalk, of Ireland, July 13, 1621. This Edward Gorges was connected, through his mother, with the Lanes of Buckingham, and probably with Ralph Lane.

Sir Fernando Gorges, afterwards so prominent in New-England history, was of the same family. Josselyn calls him of Ashton Phillips, in Somerset, an estate adjacent to the Wraxall Estate, which was that of Sir Edward Gorges a generation before. The two estates are now one.

Under date of July 11, describing an expedition made from the fleet by Greenville and others, before the site of the Colony was determined, the diary again names Capt. *Clarke* with *Amadas* and ten others in a ship-boat, and *Francis Brook* and *John White* in another ship-boat.



him selfe. I am therefore to referre your honor to an ample dyscoursse of the wholle voyeage, in a booke to Sir Walter Rawley, dedycated of the same, wherein hys used manner of proceedynge towardes all men in the Accione in generally, and partycularely towardes my selfe (the same to bee approved by the testimonyes and deposycyones of Mr. Candysshe, Mr. Edward Gorge, and Capt. Clerck), ys playenely and trewly sette doune; which gentlemen, lee, aparte and together, at dyvers tymes sounded, by all meanes to have drawen theyere consente to have joyened with him uppon a moost untrewre surmyse of hys owene, to have broughte my hedde in questione. Soo as for myne owene parte, I have had soo muche experyence of hys gouvernement, as I am humbely to desyre your honor, and the reste of my honorablest frendes, to gyve mee theyere favoures to bee freedde from that place where Sir R. Greenefeelde ys to carry eny authoritye in chyeffe. Assueringe you, sir, with all that the Lorde hathe myraculosely bleste thys accione, that, in the tyme of hys beeynge emongest us, even thoroughe hys intollerable pryde and unsaciabie ambycione, hyt hathe not at three severalle tymes taken a fynalle overthrowe; the which had bene gretefully to have beene pyttyed, not only in respecte of the losse of soo many subjectes, but cheefely for the ruyne of soo honorable an Accione: which the Lord, to hys glory, dothe dayely blesse here with a dayely dyscoverye of sumwhat rare growynge here that Chrystendom wantethe (as, even three dayes before the date hereof, a kinde of hynneye-wheate founde here growynge and usualle, that yealdethe bothe corne and suger, whereof our physycyan here hathe sente an assaye to our lord, Sir Walter Rawlleye), or elles of sume fertylle and plesante provynces, in the mayene fytte to bee cyvyilly and Chrystyanly inhabyted, as at the presente yt is inhabyted only with savages, but moost populously, specially towardes the weste, where there are towene of theyere fasshyone, scytuated uppon moost delycate platts of grounde, dystante the one from

the other not above three Englysshe myelles; soo as, uppon one of theyere holly dayes, there hathe beene of my compaignye in the mayene that hathe seene aboove seven hundred personnes, yonge and merrie [?],<sup>4</sup> together on a playene. I meane, with the favoure of the Allmyghtye, to vysytte that provynce, and sume parte of the wynter to passe there, beynge one hundred and forty myelles within the mayene. In the meane whylle, and durynge lyfe, I am to praye to the Allmyghty to blesse you and yours.

From the Newe Forte in Virginia, the eighth daye of September, 1585.

Your honor's most assuured, durynge lyfe,

RAFE LANE.<sup>5</sup>

Postscrip.—Sir, the bearer hereof, our Treasurer, Mr. Brooke, shall delyver to your honor a trewe cotype of the wholle dyscoursse of the voyeage, dyrected to Sir Walter Rawley, subscrybed and to bee conformed with sundry credyble deposyciones.

*Indorsed.*—To the Right Honorable Sir FRANCIS WALLSINGHAM, Kt., prynsypalle Secrettary to the queen's majestie, and one of her highness's moost honorable Pryvy Counselle, thys bee delyvered at courte.

<sup>4</sup> Partly torn.

<sup>5</sup> There is nothing in the diary in Hakluyt to explain the complaints made against Greenville in this letter, nor to show that any such dissension as that described had broken out in the expedition. Lane is spoken of with respect, and, in some places, with praise.



## LETTER IV.

*Ralph Lane to Sir Philip Sidney.*

AUG. 12, 1585.

MY MOST NOBLE GENERALLE, — Albeyt in the myddest of infynytt busynesses, as hauyng, emungst savvages, the chardge of wylde menn of myne owene nacion, whose vnrulynes ys suche as not to gyve leasure to yhe gardes to bee all most att eny tyme from them; neverthelesse, I wolde not omytt to wryte thes fewe lynes of deuety and affeccione vnto you: in yhe whych I am to leaue you to yhe letre whych I wrott to your most honorable father-in-lawe, Mr. Secrettary, touchyng yhe advertysments thys her majesty's newe kingdom of Virginia, and yhe singularityes thereof; and to advertyese you altogether (but bryefely) of sume such matters as, in our course hytherwards, wee haue found worthy of your party-cypacione. Whych, in fewe wordes, ys thys: that yf her majesty shall, at eny tyme, finde her selfe burthened wyth yhe King of Spayene, wee have, by our dwellyng uppon yhe Iland of St. Jhon and Hyspagnyola for yhe space of 5 weekes, soe dyscounered yhe forces thereof, wyth yhe infynytt ryches of yhe same, as that I fynd yt an attempt most honerable, fesyble, and proffitable, and only fytt for your selfe to bee cheeffe commander in. Thys entry wolde soe gaulle yhe King of Spain, as yt wolde dyuerte hys forces, yhat hee troublethe these partes of Chrystendome wyth, into thos partes where hee canne not gretely annoy vs wyth them.<sup>1</sup> And how gretely a small force wolde garboeyelle hym here, when ii of hys most rychest and strongest ilandes — St. Jhon and

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning is not well expressed. Lane means that the forces of the King of Spain would be diverted from Europe to the West Indies. It must be remembered that this letter was written a little before the Spanish Armada.

Hyspagnyola — tuke suche allarmes of vs, not only landyng, but dwellyng vpon them, wyth only 120 menn! I referre yt to your judgement. To conclude, fyndyng, by myne owene vyewe, hys forces at lande to bee soe meane, and hys terror made soe grete emongest vs in England, consyderyng that the reputacione thereof dothe alltogeather growe from yhe mynes of hys threasvre, and yhe same in places whych wee see here are soe easye bothe to bee taken and kepte by eny small force sent by hyr majesty, I colde not but wryte thes ylle fasshoned lynes vnto you, and to exhort you, my noble generall, by occasyone, not to refuse yhe good oportunyty of suche a seruyce to yhe churche of Chryst, of greate relyeffe from many callamytyes that thys threasure in Spanyard's handes dothe inflycte vnto yhe members thereof, very honorable and proffyttable for her majesty and our countrey, and most commendable and fyttte for yourselfe to bee yhe enterpryser of. And euen soe for thys tyme ceasyng further to trouble you, wyth my humble commendaciones to my lady, your wyffe, I commytt you, my noble generale, to yhe protectyon of yhe Allmyghtye.

From yhe Porte Ferdynando, in Virginia, yhe 12th of Auguste, 1585.

Your poore soldyoure,

And assuured at commandment,

RAFE LANE.

To my most honorable frende, Syr PHYLIPPE SYDNEY, Knyght, thys bee delyvered at the courte of England.<sup>2</sup>



Seal of the Roanoke letters.

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<sup>2</sup> Sir Philip Sidney took deep interest in the colonization of America. As early as Frobisher's return, in 1576, with stone, which was supposed to be gold ore, from his "Meta Incognita" (which was an island near Labrador), Sidney wrote to his correspondent Languet regarding it, in a strain which seemed to indicate his own intention

These four letters were sent home as the different vessels of Greenville's squadron returned, and the Colony was left to its own resources. The narratives which have been cited above give quite full accounts of its explorations, its disappointments, and the gradually increasing jealousy of the natives. One hundred and seven men remained in Virginia with Lane. Their names are preserved as "the names of those, as well gentlemen as others, that remained for one year in

of joining or leading a colony thither. Not many weeks before Lane wrote this letter to him, he had left London for Plymouth, and joined Sir Francis Drake on board his ship, with the intention of being the land-governor of some territory on the main, not far from the Isthmus, to be seized by that expedition. His friend Greville (Lord Brook) gives this account of his plan:—

He says the expedition was fashioned by Sidney, "with purpose to become head of it himself; . . . which journey, as the scope of it was mixed both of land and sea service, so had it accordingly distinct officers and commanders, chosen by Sir Philip out of the ablest governors of these martial times. The project was contrived between themselves in this manner, that both should jointly be governors when they had left the shore of England: but, while things were a preparing at home, Sir Francis [Drake] was to bear the name, and, by the credit of Sir Philip, have all particulars abundantly supplied." \*

Greville accompanied Sidney when he left London for Plymouth to embark; but, as he represents the matter, Drake played Sidney false. He sent word of Sidney's purpose to court, where Sidney, leaving by stealth, had concealed his plans; and orders were at once sent him to return. Drake, meanwhile, delayed sailing; and Sir Philip, having vainly evaded the first messages from Queen Elizabeth, was finally obliged to obey, and give up his favorite expedition.

The expedition lost seven hundred men; and, though it returned with large booty, was, for all political purposes, a failure. Greville says of it, "Nevertheless, as the limbs of Venus' picture, how perfectly soever begun and left by Apelles, yet, after his death, proved impossible to finish; so that heroical design of invading and possessing America, how exactly soever projected and digested in every minute by Sir Philip, did yet prove impossible to be well acted by any man's spirit than his own, how sufficient soever his associate were in all parts of navigation: whereby the success of this journey fell out to be rather fortunate in wealth than honour."

It was in the return of this expedition, that, as the reader has seen, Drake relieved Lane.

Sidney left ample testimony of his opinion, that Spain was to be most easily attacked in her West-Indian possessions; an impression which he derived, very likely, from the very letter of Lane's which we now publish. At the least, it must have been confirmed by it. Lane's statement relating to the weakness of the Spaniard on St. John

\* Greville's *Life of Sidney*, chap. vii.

Virginia under the government of Master Ralph Lane.”<sup>3</sup> Master Philip Amadas, one of the captains of the year before, was “Admiral of the country;” a position in which he might have served it better with any vessels fit for his purposes. But, besides boats, he had only a pinnace, which drew too deep water for Roanoke Sound, and “would not stir for an oar.”

The observations made by these colonists during their stay are recorded at length in the authorities cited above, and were made with care and intelligence. I had heard the suspicions which hasty criticism has thrown on the genuineness of the drawings in De Bry’s great volume. I was glad to dispel these suspicions by

and Hispaniola reminds us at once of the following passage in Greville’s *Biography of Sidney*: “Upon due consideration of which particulars, . . . he resolved, from the only grounds of his former intended voyage with Sir Francis Drake, that the only credible means left was to assail him [the Spaniard], by invasion or incursion (as occasion fell out), in some part of that rich and desert West-Indian mine. . . .

“Under the only conduct of this star did Sir Philip intend to revive this hazardous enterprise of planting upon the main of America, — projected, nay undertaken, long before (as I showed you), but ill executed in the absence of Sir Philip, — with a design to possess *Nombre de Dios*, or some other haven near unto it, as places, in respect of the little distance between the two seas, esteemed the fittest rendezvous for supply or retreat of an army upon all occasions. . . .

“Upon these enterprises of his I have presumed to stand the longer, because, from the ashes of this first-propounded voyage to America, that fatal Low-Country action sprang up, in which this worthy gentleman lost his life.” \* . . .

Lady Sidney, the wife of Sir Philip, to whom Lane sends his “humble commendations” in this letter, was the only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, to whom our first three letters are addressed. In Mr. Haven’s *Introduction to the Voyage to Spitzbergen*, in a subsequent part of this volume, the reader will observe how closely were afterwards united the family of Sidney and that of the distinguished merchant, Sir Thomas Smith, who finally succeeded in colonizing America, where Raleigh failed. Mr. Haven informs me that the union, in the same family, of the names Sidney and Smith, now so celebrated for more reasons than one, originated in this connection between the house of Sidney, in the very days of its glory, and the great merchant who presided over the early fortunes of the State of Virginia.

Sidney died, after the battle of Zutphen, on the sixteenth day of October, 1586; not many weeks after Ralph Lane’s return from America.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 255.

\* Greville’s *Life of Sidney*, chap. x.

finding in the British Museum the originals of some of these drawings, and many more of the same series. In a report which I presented to the Antiquarian Society in April, 1860, I gave some account of them.

The collection<sup>4</sup> consists of one hundred and twelve drawings, in water-color, very carefully preserved. They came to the Museum with the collection of Sir Hans Sloane;<sup>5</sup> and the volume has this entry, which is believed to be in his handwriting:—

“The originall drawings of the habits, towns, customs, of the West Indians, and of the plants, birds, fishes, &c., found in Groenland, Virginia, Guiana, &c.; by Mr. John White, who was a painter, and accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage. See the preface to the first part of ‘America’ of Theodore de Bry, or the ‘Description of Virginia,’ where some of these draughts are curiously wrought by that graver.”

If there were no title, the identity of many of the paintings with the prints in De Bry would show that they were by the same hand. That those are copied from these is shown by the fact, that the prints sometimes reverse the paintings, giving the right hand for the left. This collection is much larger than that in De Bry, numbering nearly one hundred American pictures; from which a part only were selected to be copied for engraving. In De Bry there are only twenty-three. For several of the prints in De Bry, there are no originals here: and I am disposed to think, that the artist copied from these originals those which were sent to Germany;

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<sup>4</sup> Sloane and additional Manuscripts, 5270.

<sup>5</sup> Who died in 1752.



that he sent, also, some of the originals; and that the copies from which the engravers worked are not in this collection.

This very curious collection exhibits, even more than the spirited engravings in De Bry, the ability of the artist to whom Sir Walter Raleigh intrusted the representation to the eye of his new Colony. They are very well drawn; colored with skill; and, even in the present state of art, would be considered anywhere valuable and creditable representations of the plants, birds, beasts, and men of a new country. The collection includes other studies of the artist; a prince of Genoa in his court-dress, and many Italian plants, being found within the same covers as the chiefs, squaws, and papposes, the woodpeckers, herrings, and hepaticas, of Roanoke. The distinguished naturalist, Dr. Francis Boott, was so kind as to examine the collection at my request; and confirms my own impression, that the plants and birds must have been studied on the spot by the artist, as no specimens of them then existed elsewhere in the world.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The volume in which these drawings are found is a scrap-book, made apparently by one hand. Among the paintings is a print of Cromwell, and an India-ink painting; not, I think, by White's hand.

An indorsement in another hand than Sloane's, dated 1673, says, "There is in this book a hundred and 12 leaves, with flowers and pickters and Fish, and of Fowles, besides wast paper."

Yet another indorsement gives a series of names of the birds in the collection, studied from Catesby's "Natural History of Florida:"—

"Sir W. Raughley's Book, by White. Mr. Catesby's Nat. Hist. Florida:—

Page 141. Bald Eagle. Nahyapaw.	
„ 150. Red-head Woodpecker.	
„ 152. Large Woodpecker.	
„ 153. Blue-bird.	
„ 154. Hairy Woodpecker.	
„ 155. The Yellow Woodpecker.	
„ 156. Red-winged Starling.	

Page 157. Towhee-bird.
„ 158. Red-bird of Virginia.
„ 159. Gold-winged Woodpecker.
„ 160. Blue Jay.
„ 162. Fox-colored Thrush.
„ 151. Purple Jackday.
„ 19. Flying-fish."

The representations of animals and plants give peculiar value to the series; for the intimation has been thrown out, that the artist of De Bry's plates was never in America. These representations of American birds, fishes, insects, and plants, could not have been made in Europe.

The various pictures in the volume are, ten of Virginian Indians, of which one is the front figure of Plate III. in De Bry; one is the front figure of III. in De Bry, where it is reversed by engraving; one is VIII. of De Bry, the woman a little differing from the print; one is XIX. of De Bry, four times the size of the print, and without the trees.

Then follow three pictures of Greenlanders, with one Greenland scene; a Roman soldier; Duke of Genoa; figure unnamed, probably Italian; two reptiles, — the gwanoo, (chameleon?) and one unknown; one butterfly (Mamaukanois).

The fishes come next. They are thus named by the artist: —

Tanborel.

Rebero [two figures].

A Lande Crabe.

Peffe Pica.

Caracol [two figures].

[Nautilus, not named.]

Deoratho.

Rebero.

[Old-wife, so named by Sloane?]

One fish unnamed.

Boladora [white flying-fish].

Mero [squirrel-fish. Sloane?].

Oio Debuay.

The fruits come next: —

Mamea [mammy-apple]. Pine. Plantano.

Here follow a series of plants. The Latin names have been added evidently by a modern hand, — probably Sir Hans Sloane's.

Wisakon [asclepias. Sloane?].

Hyacinthus orientalis.

Anemone flore cæruleo.

Hyacinthus botryodes cæruleus.

Crocus vernus.

Hyacinthus albus.

Hepatica regalis [two figures].

Muscuri, sive Hyacinthus racemosus alter.

Anemone.

Hyacinthus botryodes.

Pulsatilla.

Consolida regalis.

[In pencil] Delphinium majus sive vulgare.

Armeris flos.

Tulipa Bononienis.

Narcissus juncifolius.

Lilium persicum.

Illeborus niger.

Leuconium bulbosum majus.

Tulipa lutea mixta rubro.

[Three pages of tulips unnamed.]

[Venus and Cupid, in India-ink, stuck into scrap-book.]

Deus caninus [purple].

Auricula Ursi, Paralitica Alpina Major [two figures].

Acorus Veris, cum suo Juli [probably Julo is intended].

Calceolus Mariæ [Cypripedium].

Fritillaria [two].

Leuconium bulbosum majus.

Leuconium bulbosum minus.

Leuconium bulbosum alterum.

Narcissus medio purpureus.

Narcissus medio luteus.

Narcissus sylvestris multiplex.

Narcissus paucifolius.

Veratri nigri species, Bupthalmi Dod [meaning Bupthalmi].

Hyacinthus orientalis major.

Leuconium bulbosum tryphillon.

Hyacinthus racemosus cæruleus et albus.

Sisyrinchium majus. [Eight pages of Iris (all American varieties), of which only Iris variegatus is named; and, as in so many other instances, with the masculine adjective.]

Sisyrinchium minus.

Tigridis flos.

Nasturtium Indicum.

Canna Indica.

Paralitica Alpina minor.

Dens Caninus. Crocus verneus.

Hepatica regalis flore rubra.

Hepatica regalis flore cærulea.

Anemone flore rubro multiplex.

Tulipa.

Lilium Byzantium.

Anemone flore cæruleo simplicis.

Anemone simplex flore rubro.

Hyacinthus spuris racemosus alter, sive Mus-tari [so spelled; but spelled Muscuri above].



The site of the settlement was visited in 1859 by Mr. Edward C. Bruce, who has thus described its present aspect:<sup>7</sup> —

“The intrenchments speak a mute testimony of their own. The island contains nothing else of the sort; and the records of the voyagers fix the situation of the fort and village to within a mile or less. Within that circuit they must have stood, and within it lie the remains before us. The location was judiciously selected. Half a mile from the eastern — or, rather, north-eastern — shore, and a little further from the northern point of the island, it was just far enough inland to

Then follow the birds as named above, with —

Taráwkow, the crane.  
 Pecáwkoo, as big as a Goose.  
 Jaweepuwes, somewhat bigger than a duck.  
 Oounsuck, of the bignes of a Duck.  
 Weewraamaunqueo, As bigg as a Duck.  
 Asanamaunqueo, As bigg as a Goose.  
 Woonagusso, The swann.  
 Kaiauk, as bigg as a Duck.  
 Tuminaihumenes, of this bignes [crow?].  
 Memeo, as big as a croo.  
 Jackawaujes, Of this bignes [blue-bird?].  
 [Rubicula, so named by Sloane?]  
 [One unnamed], Of this bignes.  
 Meenz. Of this bignes.  
 Chachaquiles, a woodpecker; Of this bignes.

[Two unnamed.]  
 Chuwquaréo, The black-bird.  
 Weeheepeus, The swallowe.  
 Chuwhweeoo, somethinge bigger than a black-byrd.  
 Meesquowns, almost as bigg as a Parratt.  
 Quurécquaneo, a woodpicker; as big as a Pigeon.  
 Artamockes, The linguist; a bird that imitateth and useth the sounds and tones of almost all birds in the Countrie; as big as a pigeon [blue-jay].  
 [Two unnamed.]  
 Poocqueo, bigger than a thrush.

#### Fish: —

Pashockshin, The Playse; a foote & a halfe in length.  
 Marangahockes, 3 or 4 foote in length.  
 Ribuckon, a foote in length.  
 Chaham, } The hearing; 2 feet in length.  
 Wumaunaham, }  
 Mesickek, some 5 or 6 feet in length.  
 Chigwusso, some 5 or 6 feet in length.  
 Kokohockepuwo, the Lampron; a foot in length.  
 Tetzso, the mullett; some 2 feet in length  
 [Mullet Car., note by Sloane].  
 Arasénee, some 5 or 6 foote in length.

Kowabetteo, some 5 or 6 foote in length.  
 Keetraul, some 2 & a half foote in length.  
 Masunnehockeo, The olde-wyfe; 2 foote in length.  
 Memeskson [a lizard], foote in length.  
 Tesiqueo, a kind of snake; which the salvages, being rost or soddenn, do eate; some an elle long.  
 Coppaulleo, The sturgeon; some 10, 11, 12, or 13 foote in length.  
 A swelling fish, 8 ynches in length.  
 Manchauemec, some a foote in length.

<sup>7</sup> In an agreeable article, containing his “Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers,” in Harper’s Magazine, May, 1860.

be sheltered from the heavy winds by the bluffs and woods, without sacrificing facility of watch over the adjacent waters. To the north-west, the position commands the broad sweep of Albemarle; to the north, Currituck; on the east, Roanoke; and, on the west, Croatan Sounds, — all leading directly to this point. Opposite the narrow neck which has replaced the inlet (through which Lane entered), and perhaps a mile from the fort, a fine look-out is afforded by the range of sand-hills before spoken of. These are fully as high as those scattered along the beach in front, and were obviously thrown up by the direct action of the waves rolling through the now obliterated inlet.

“The trench is clearly traceable in a square of about forty yards each way. Midway of one side, another trench — perhaps flanking the gateway — runs in some fifteen or twenty feet; and, on the right of the same face of the enclosure, the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep; though, in many places, scarcely perceptible. The whole site is overgrown with pine, live-oak, vines, and a variety of other plants, high and low. A flourishing live-oak, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the centre. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the city of Raleigh.”

With this little fort for their capital, Lane and his company of men remained until the 19th of June, 1586. At that time, Lane had satisfied himself that his settlement on Roanoke Island was badly placed. He had no harbor, and he had no vessels fit for the navigation of those sounds. He had determined that Chesapeake Bay would afford a better position. Though many of the natives proved favorably disposed, he was at war with a very considerable number of them. They began

to cut off his supplies of provisions, and his men were already feeding upon "casada" and oysters. On the 8th of June, Sir Francis Drake, returning from the expedition in the Caribbean Sea, in which Sir Philip Sidney had vainly attempted to join him, came on the coast, and, finding the distress of the Colony, attempted to relieve it. He instantly assented to Lane's requests for the supply of the Colony. He offered to leave the "Francis" (a bark of seventy tons), two pinnaces, and four small boats, with Lane, who wished to continue his discoveries till August, proposing then to return to England. Drake had lost seven hundred men, had made some prizes, and must have had vessels enough and room enough to spare. Before these arrangements for the supply of Lane's Colony were completed, the "Francis" was driven to sea in a gale. Drake then offered Lane the "Bonner," of one hundred and seventy tons: but the "Bonner" could not enter Lane's harbor; and, on consultation with the captains and gentlemen of his company, he suddenly determined to abandon his plantation. They made a formal request to Drake for passage to England, — a request which he granted; and they departed from that coast on the 18th of June. About fourteen or fifteen days after, Sir Walter Raleigh's first supply-ship; soon after, Sir Richard Greenville, with three ships, bringing the stores which had been promised for the Colony, — arrived on the coast. Having vainly sought for the Colony, he landed fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, plentifully provided for two years, and returned to England.

Lane seems never to have made any attempt after-

wards to return to his American home. He certainly did not look back on his twelvemonth here with any great satisfaction.

In a search through those parts of his after-correspondence which seemed to me most promising, I found only these references to his American life : —

In 1586, he speaks of it in a memorial to the court as “some service of her majesty abroad, the same of some note and urgency.”

In a memorial afterwards, proposing some new methods of discipline in the army in Ireland, he says, —

“Yet, nevertheless, myself was (by times) one whole year and a half under all the intemperate climates for heat and sickness, within ten degrees of the line, both at sea and land, bearing the second place under Sir Richard Greenville; where, having been permitted by him to set down a discipline which was severely executed, first at sea, and then afterwards by me, in like sort, continued at land, neither at sea nor at land we lost by sickness about . . . persons . . .<sup>8</sup> in one small caraque of her majestie’s, called the “Tygre.”<sup>9</sup> Wherein I appeal to the attestation of Sir Walter Raleigh, who received particular information of the same by Sir Richard Greenville himself, though he took the matter upon the worst effect absolutely to himself. My exceptions unto him for which, and for his engaging of me with my only squadre of xxv. soldiers and five Spanish prisoners, with mattocks and spades (at Cape Rosso, against the governor there, Diego Melindes, with forty horse and 300 foot), to lade salt, where he told me I should find none to resent; but, finding the

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<sup>8</sup> Illegible.

<sup>9</sup> The flag-ship of Greenville’s expedition, “of sevenscore tons.” She was lost afterwards on the North-Carolina shore. — See p. 6.

contrary, my telling him of it led to great unkindness afterward on his part toward me.”<sup>1</sup>

The transaction here alluded to is described in the narrative of Greenville’s voyage, printed in Hakluyt,<sup>2</sup> thus : —

“The twenty-sixth day [of May], our lieutenant, Master Ralph Lane, went, in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxo Bay, upon the south side of St. John’s, to fetch salt ; being thither conducted by a Spanish pilot. As soon as he arrived there, he landed with his men, to the number of twenty, and intrenched himself upon the sands immediately, compassing one of their salt-hills within the trench. Who being seen of the Spaniards, there came down towards him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on, but durst not come near him to offer any resistance ; so that Master Lane, maugre their troops, carried their salt aboard, and laded his frigate, and so returned again to our fleet the twenty-ninth day, which rode at St. German’s Bay.”

In Lane’s account of this transaction we are perhaps to find the root of his dissension with Greenville, to which he alludes in his third letter to Walsingham. Perhaps some distrust of Greenville led to his otherwise inexplicable conduct in abandoning his Colony in 1586, when Greenville was on his way to relieve it.

His own account of his plans for that summer is in these words, in his Memoir to Raleigh :<sup>3</sup> —

“Hereupon I resolved with myself, that if your supply<sup>4</sup> had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any

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<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MS., lxix. 13. The date is Jan. 7, 1591-2.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> The stores and re-enforcements under Greenville.



store of boats, or men to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men, and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnaces about the sea to the northward to have found out the bay he spake of, and to have sounded the bar, if there were any; which should have ridden there in the said bay about that island, while I, with all the small boats I could make, and with two hundred men, would have gone up to the head of the river Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been assured should have been his best men (for I had his best-beloved son prisoner with me); who also should have kept me company, in a hand-lock, with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

“My meaning was further, at the head of the river, in the place of my descent where I would have left my boats, to have raised a sconse, with a small trench, and a palisade upon the top of it; in the which, and in the guard of my boats, I would have left five and twenty or thirty men. With the rest would I have marched, with as much victual as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades, and axes, two days' journey. In the end of my march, upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconse, according to the former, where I would have left fifteen or twenty; and, if it would have fallen out conveniently in the way, I would have raised my said sconse upon some cornfield, that my company might have lived upon it.

“And so I would have holden this course of insconsing every two days' march, until I had been arrived at the bay, or port, he spake of; which finding to be worth the possession, I would there have raised a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour and our shipping also; and would have reduced our whole habitation, from Roanoak and from the harbour and port there (which, by proof, is very naught), unto this other, before mentioned; from whence, in the four

days' march before specified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats, lying under my sconse;<sup>5</sup> very near whereunto, directly from the west, runneth a most notable river, and in all those parts most famous, called the river of Moratoc. This river openeth into the broad sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other sounds and bays, salt and fresh, show no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind, this river of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the west and south-west, that it made me of opinion, that, with oars, it would scarce be navigable: it passeth with many creeks and turnings; and, for the space of thirty miles' rowing and more, it is as broad as the Thames between Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, — in some place more, and in some less. The current runneth as strong, being entered so high into the river, as at London Bridge, upon a vale water."<sup>6</sup>

The route which Lane thus proposed to himself to cross by land, to the mouth of the James River, would have passed to the east of the Dismal Swamp, and, so far as we can now see, would have been quite practicable: it is now traversed by several high roads. He also, it will be observed, proposed to reach by sea the island in Chesapeake Bay.

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<sup>5</sup> That is, to the head of Chawanook, now Chowan River. The distinction is to be observed between the boats in the river, and the bark and pinnaces in Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>6</sup> That is, on a tide running with the current of the stream. This use of the word "vale" is not recognized in the popular dictionaries; but it did not escape Mr. Richardson, who cites the passage in the text. It is not directly from "vale," a valley, but from the old verb "avale," to drop down. Gower uses the word thus: —

"This vessel . . . hath his sail avaled."

*Avaler*, with this meaning, is still good French.



Dr. Hawks supposes the island referred to to have been Craney Island, near Norfolk. If Lane found such a harbor there as he hoped for, he proposed to have "reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak . . . unto this other before mentioned." He thus made the suggestion, which was followed twenty years after, of a Colony in Chesapeake Bay.

His estimate of the worthlessness of Roanoke Island, and of the harbor which led to it, has been wholly confirmed. It is almost as wild to-day as it was the day he left it. A long sand-spit shelters it from the sea. Such spits are known as "The Banks:" in that particular place, this has gained the nickname of "Arabia." The inlet through this spit, which Lane called Trinity Harbor, has been wholly closed by the drifting sand since his day. The "banks" are now some miles wide in that place. Nag's Head, the seat of a watering-place, stands just south, apparently, of where the inlet opened. This inlet, according to White's narrative, must have been dangerous in Lane's time. The passage described by him as Hatorask had also been closed for more than a century; but, in 1846, an inlet opened in that neighborhood, which is now a good deal used by small vessels. New Inlet, six or eight miles south of the southern end of the island, has opened since the days of the Colony.

I have called the abandonment of the plantation "inexplicable." But the discussion of what might have been, had a man like Capt. John Smith led the first Virginian Colony, or had Sir Philip Sidney himself, as he seems to have yearned to do, is scarcely profitable. We can

hardly judge of Lane by what he did or by what he failed to do in this expedition. I have thought, that, as the first governor of any American Colony, he was a person of whose history and character we ought to know something more ; and I have therefore brought together, in an Appendix to this volume, a short memoir of him, prepared mostly from his own manuscripts, as they are preserved in different public collections in England.

I have not found any thing of his in print, excepting the letters on America referred to above ; but one of my best authorities has the impression, that there is a printed tract by him. It is not named, however, in any catalogue at my command.

I may save other inquirers some trouble by saying, that there was a Ralph Lane, a merchant of London, nearly his contemporary. One of his letters is preserved in the British Museum, among the Lansdowne Manuscripts. The father and grandfather of the governor were both named Ralph.

There are two letters by Ralph Lane printed by Mr. Ellis ;<sup>7</sup> but both seem to be by Sir Ralph, who died in 1540, father of the governor. The first is from *Ralph Lane* and Thomas Lee to the Lord Privy Seal, after searching the books of Dr. Lush, Vicar of Aylesbury, for matter inimical to the Reformation. This was written before Henry VIII.'s death. The second is said to be from "Ralph Lane *the younger*" to Lord Cromwell, March 23, 1540. In this

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<sup>7</sup> Ellis's Original Letters, 3d series, 3d vol.

year, Sir Ralph died; but his son Ralph could have been only thirteen years old at the utmost. The letters both show a very contemptible spirit; and we are glad our Ralph cannot be charged with them.

Gov. Lane's name is spelt *Layne* by Capt. John Smith, in the next generation. In Camden, he appears as Radulphus Lanus. In the "Conversations Lexicon," art. "Tabac," he is called Raphelengi, by a queer blunder. The writer had in mind, perhaps, the great printer, Raphelenge, Lane's contemporary.

Ralph Lane was the agent in one victory, of which he never thought. He has one monument, as eternal as the world, though as transitory as other fame, which ought daily to recall his courage and adventure to grateful millions. He introduced tobacco into England.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See APPENDIX A., at the end of the volume.

## CAPTAIN NEWPORT'S DISCOVERIES IN VIRGINIA.

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THE Colony under Lane had scarcely left Roanoke, when the ship freighted by Raleigh and his associates for their relief arrived there. Not finding the settlers, the commander returned to England. About a fortnight after, Sir Richard Greenville, with three other ships, arrived. Not finding either the ship sent in advance of him, or the Colony, he landed fifteen men,<sup>1</sup> with provisions for two years, and returned. The next year, three ships, with a re-enforcement, were sent out under the command of John White; but they found none of the settlers, "excepting the bones of one man." Their Indian interpreter, *Manteo*, learned that the others had had a conflict with the savages, and that the survivors had fled, the Indians knew not whither. The new company proposed to avenge this loss, but, by accident, attacked a body of their own friends, of whom they killed one. Having established their settlement again, they sent White, the governor, back to England to procure their supplies in another voyage; but the confusions at-

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<sup>1</sup> Not fifty, as in Capt. John Smith's narrative.

tendant on the Armada prevented his return until 1589, though he seems to have spared no pains in attempting it. Again the Colony was found deserted. A post marked CROATAN in "fair capital letters" showed that the colonists had removed to that point, one well known: but there White could not follow them; and all our historians have regarded their history since as unknown.

But, within a few years, there has appeared an intimation in the curious "History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," by William Strachey, recently published by the Hakluyt Society,<sup>2</sup> that seven of these deserted colonists were afterwards rescued. The remarkable passage which seems to assert this fact is the following:—

"At Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen, by the relation of Machumps,<sup>3</sup> the people have houses built with stone walls, and one story above another, so taught them by those English *who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke*, at what time this our Colony, under the conduct of Capt. Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeys about their houses, and take apes in the mountains; and where, at Ritanoë, the Weroance Eyanoco preserved *seven of the English alive*—four men, two boys, and one young maid<sup>4</sup> (who escaped, and fled up the river of Chanoke)—to beat his copper, of which he hath certain mines at the said Ritanoë; as also at Pamawauk are said to be store of salt-stones."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> From a manuscript in the British Museum, 1849.

<sup>3</sup> An Indian subsequently mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Was this Virginia Dare, the first-born Anglo-American? She or "— Harvie" are the only two on the list of that Colony, as White left it, who could have been spoken of as "maids" in 1607. There were boys, but no other girls, among them.

<sup>5</sup> Page 26.

It must be confessed that this tantalizing passage is very obscure. Some light, however, is thrown on it by the following passage, itself still more obscure, evidently founded on the same sources of information:—

“Yet no Spanish intention shall be entertained by us; neither hereby to root out the naturals,<sup>6</sup> but only to take from them these seducers; . . . declaring unto the several Weroances,<sup>7</sup> and making the common people likewise to understand, how that his majesty hath been acquainted that the *men, women, and children of the first plantation at Roanoak were*, by practice and commandment of Powhatan (he himself persuaded thereunto by his priests), *miserably slaughtered*, without any offence given him, either by the first planted (who twenty and odd years had peaceably lived intermixed with those savages, and were out of his territory), or by those who are now come,” &c.

These passages certainly state that the *Roanoke* colonists survived, intermixed with the savages, till after 1607. The allusion in the first to Newport's arrival with the fleet that year seems to show that those seven persons there named knew of the arrival of that fleet. It would seem as if, by Powhatan's suggestion, these persons were, as late as 1609 or 1610, cut off by the savages. It is evident from a passage in Smith's narrative,<sup>8</sup> that, in 1608, no such tidings of them had been received. The allusions must be to the second “Roanoak massacre;” for among the fifteen left by Greenville were neither women nor children.

In another place, Strachey says, speaking of John

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<sup>6</sup> Aborigines.

<sup>7</sup> Chiefs.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, vol. i. pp. 192, 193.



White's return to England in 1589, "They returned; . . . neglecting thus these unfortunate and betrayed people, of whose end you shall yet hereafter read in due place in this decade." From this statement also, it is evident he had information which is now lost; for the remainder of the decade, which is imperfect, does not contain it, as promised. Strachey's introduction makes the same promise in another form: "The poor planters afterward, as you shall read in the following discourse, came to a miserable and untimely destiny."

The date of this paper of Strachey's is placed by Mr. Major, the accomplished editor, somewhere between 1612 and 1616. Vague as the statements are, they certainly convey the idea that some of the Roanoke colonists communicated with those of James River; perhaps escaped to them. Strachey is authority of the first character, having emigrated to Virginia, where he was Secretary of the Council in the Colony which sailed in 1609. He was himself among those shipwrecked at the Bermudas, and did not arrive in Virginia until 1610.<sup>9</sup>

A tradition is mentioned by Lawson among the Hatteras Indians, "that several of their ancestors were white people, and could talk from a book; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being among these Indians, and no others."<sup>1</sup>

Sir Walter Raleigh, however, had never forgotten Virginia. In 1589, he made an assignment from his patent to certain adventurers, which he hoped would secure a continuance of the settlement. As late as

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<sup>9</sup> See Purchas, vol. iv.

<sup>1</sup> Lawson's History, &c. London, 1718.

1602, he sent a vessel out to search for his lost colonists ; which returned unsuccessful. Henry, Earl of Southampton, the same year sent Gosnold and Gilbert out ; and Gosnold made his winter's settlement of 1602-3 on the most westerly of the Elizabeth Islands.<sup>2</sup> April 10, at the instance of Richard Hakluyt and a few others, the king issued the patents under which the London company and the Plymouth companies were formed ;<sup>3</sup> and on the 19th of December, 1606, an expedition consisting of three ships — one of a hundred tons, one of forty, and one of twenty — sailed from Blackwall to plant another Colony in Virginia. The expedition did not lose sight of England, however, for six weeks afterwards. It arrived in April in the Chesapeake, which Lane had indicated as the proper region for a Colony twenty-one years before ; and, on the 13th of May, the Colony of Jamestown was begun.<sup>4</sup> The intermediate time had been spent in a voyage to the West Indies, where plants, seeds, and roots for the expedition had been procured ; a fact which we learn for the first time from the narrative now published.

The celebrated Capt. John Smith, afterwards the commander of this Colony, after describing the first buildings, says, —

“Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river. By divers small habitations they passed,

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<sup>2</sup> The point was ascertained, with relics of Gosnold's settlement, by Dr. Belknap, with a Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1797 (see Belknap, art. “Gosnold;” and *North-American Review*, vol v. p. 316). This fact has escaped the attention of Mr. Major, who has so admirably edited Strachey's “Virginia” for the Hakluyt Society.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archæologia Americana*, vol. iii. p. xii.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's “Virginia,” book iii. chap. i.

in six days they arrived at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses pleasantly situated on a hill: before it, three fertile isles; about it, many of their cornfields. The place is very pleasant, and strong by nature. Of this place, the prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans. To this place the river is navigable; but higher, within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not a passage for a small boat: this they call the Falls. The people in all parts kindly entreated them; till, being returned within twenty miles of *James Town*, they gave just cause of jealousy.”<sup>5</sup>

Of this expedition, a full account is given in the following full and curious paper. Two shorter narratives, from the same pen apparently, describe the country and the people. None of them have, till now, been published. They have been preserved in the English State-paper Office. We print from the copy made under direction of Hon. George Bancroft.

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<sup>5</sup> Smith, as above.

CAPT. NEWPORT'S DISCOVERIES, VIRGINIA.<sup>1</sup>

MAY [1607].

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A RELATYON OF THE DISCOVERY OF OUR RIVER, FROM JAMES FORTE INTO THE MAINE; MADE BY CAPT. CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT,<sup>2</sup> AND SINCERELY WRITTEN AND OBSERVED BY A GENTLEMAN OF THE COLONY.

May 21. — Thursday, the 21st of May, Capt. Newport (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery) tooke five gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen saylors; with whome he proceeded, with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others heretofore, the sea againe, the mountaynes Apalatsi,<sup>3</sup> or some issue.

The names of the dyscoverers are thes:—

Capt. Christop. Newport.

George Percy, Esq.  
Capt. Gabriell Archer.  
Capt. Jhon Smyth.  
Mr. Jhon Brooks.  
Mr. Tho. Wotton.

Francys Nellson, John Collson, Robert Tyndall, <sup>4</sup> Mathew Fytch,	} <i>Maryners.</i>
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<sup>1</sup> State-paper Office. "America and West Indies."

<sup>2</sup> "Capt. Christopher Newport, a mariner well practised for the western parts of America." — *Smith*, book iii. chap. i. He had made other voyages to America before, and his name constantly appears afterwards. Newport News, "the sister promontory to Jamestown," at the opening of James River into Hampton Roads, takes his name. (See a sketch of it in Mr. Edward C. Bruce's agreeable paper, "Loungings in the Footprints of the Pioneers," *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, May, 1859.) Capt. Newport was one of the Council.

<sup>3</sup> The first appearance of the name "Appalachian."

<sup>4</sup> Tindal's Point is named on Smith's map, at the mouth of York River. It is the Quarter Point of the Coast Survey.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Jonas Poole.             | 2. Robert Markham.          |
| 3. John Crookdeck.          | 4. Olyver Browne.           |
| 5. Benjamyn White.          | 6. Rych. Genoway.           |
| 7. Tho. Turnbrydg.          | 8. Tho. Godword.            |
| 9. Robert Jackson.          | 10. Charles Clarke.         |
| 11. Stephen [ <i>sic</i> ]. | 12. Thomas Skynner.         |
| 13. Jeremy Deale.           | 14. Danyell [ <i>sic</i> ]. |

Thus from James Fort we took our leave about noone; and by night we were up the ryver thirteen myle, at a lowe meadow point, which I call Wynauk.<sup>5</sup> Here came the people, and entertayned us with daunces and much rejoycing. This kyngdome Wynauk is full of pearle muskles. The Kyng of Paspeiouh and this king is at odds, as the Paspeians tould me, and demonstrated by their hurts. Here we anckored all night.

May 22, Fryday. — Omitting no tyme, we passed up some sixteen myle further, where we founde an ilet,<sup>6</sup> on which were many turkeys, and greate store of young byrdes like black-birdes; whereof wee tooke dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall. Now, spying eight salvages in a canoa, we haled them by our worde of kyndnes, "Wingapoh;"<sup>7</sup> and they came to us. In conference by signes with them, one seemed to understand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to describe the river to us: so I gave him a pen and paper (showing first the use), and he layd out the whole river from the Chesseian Bay<sup>8</sup> to the end of it, so farr as passadg was for boats. He tolde us of two iletts in the ryver we should

<sup>5</sup> Weanock, on Smith's map, is at the junction of the Appomatox and James Rivers, nearly thirty miles above Jamestown. This must be the point meant by this writer. Even with this emendation of his distances, he makes the *falls* but eighty-eight miles above Jamestown; which was about fifty from the bay: yet he puts the falls one hundred and sixty from the bay.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Farrar's Island (see Coast Survey); but, according to Mr. Bruce, this was naturally a peninsula. One of the small islands on the river still bears the name of Turkey Island; and if Wynauk, or Weanock, is to be placed at the mouth of the Appomatox, this is not Eppes's Island.

<sup>7</sup> "My good friend, or friends."

<sup>8</sup> Chesapeake.

passe by, — meaning that one whereon we were,<sup>1</sup>— and then come to an overfall of water; beyond that, of two kyngdomes which the ryver runnes by; then, a greate distaunce of, the mountaines Quirauk, as he named them; beyond which, by his relation, is that which we expected. This fellow, parting from us, promised to procure us wheate, if we woulde stay a little before; and, for that intent, went back again to provide it: but we, coming by the place where he was, with many more very desirous of our company, stayd not, as being eagre of our good tydings. He, notwithstanding, with two wemen and another fellow of his owne consort, followed us some sixe mile with baskets full of dried oysters, and mett us at a point, where, calling to us, we went ashore, and bartred with them for most of their victualls. Here the shoare began to be full of greate cobble-stones and higher land. The ryver skants of his breadth two mile before we come to the ilet mentyoned (which I call Turkey Ile), yet keepes it a quarter of a mile broade most comonly, and depe water for shipping. This fellow, with the rest, overtooke us agayne upon the doubling of another point. Now, they had gotten mulberyes, little sweete nutts like acorns (a verye good fruite), wheate, beanes, and mulberyes, sodd together, and gave us. Some of them desired to be sett over the ryver; which we dyd, and they parted.<sup>1</sup> Now we passed a reach of three mile and a half in length, highe stony grownd on Popham<sup>2</sup> syde, five or sixe fadome, eight oares' length, from the shoare. This daye we went about thirty-eight mile,<sup>3</sup> and came to an ankre at a place I call Poore Cottage;<sup>4</sup> where we went ashore, and were used kyndly by the people. Wee sodd our kettle by the water-syde within nighte, and rested aboorde.

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<sup>1</sup> The other is, perhaps, Farrar's Isle.

<sup>2</sup> Popham side and Salisbury side are the names the writer gives to the two shores of the river.

<sup>3</sup> From their first anchorage.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps near "Haxall" of the Coast Survey.



May 23, Saturday. — We passed a few short reaches; and, five mile of Poore Cottage, we went ashore. Heer we found our kinde comrads againe, who had gyven notice all along as they came of us; by which we were entertayned with much courtesye in every place. We found here a wiroans (for so they call their kyngs), who satt upon a matt of reeds, with his people about him. He caused one to be layd for Capt. Newport; gave us a deare roasted, which, according to their custome, they seethed againe. His people gave us mullberyes, sodd wheate, and beanes; and he caused his weomen to make cakes for us. He gave our captain his crowne; which was of deare's hayre, dyed redd. Certifying him of our intentyon up the ryver, he was willing to send guydes with us. This we found to be a kyng subject to Pawatah<sup>5</sup> (the chiefe of all the kyngdomes). His name is Arahatec; the country, Arahatecoh.<sup>6</sup> Now, as we satt merye banquetting with them, seeing their dauncs and taking tobacco, newes came that the greate Kyng Powatah was come: at whose presence they all rose of their matts (save the Kyng Arahatec), separated themselves aparte, in fashion of a guard; and, with a long shout, they saluted him. Him wee saluted with silence; sitting still on our matts, our captain in the myddest; but presented (as before we dyd to Kyng Arahatec) gyftes of dyvers sorts — as penny-knyves, sheeres, belles, beades, glasse toyes, &c. — more amply then before. Now, this king appointed five men to guyde us up the river, and sent posts before to provyde us victuall. I caused now our kynde consort, that described the river to us, to draw it againe before Kyng Aratahec,<sup>7</sup> who in every thing consented to this draught; and it agreed with his first relatyon. This we found a faythfull fellow: he was one that was appointed guyde for us. Thus parting from Aratahec's Joye,

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<sup>5</sup> Powhatan, in Smith and later writers.

<sup>6</sup> *Oh* indicates locality; or, perhaps, "the people of."

<sup>7</sup> *Sic*.

we found the people on either syde the ryver stand in clusters all along, still proffering us victualls; which of some were accepted, as our guyds (that were with us in the boate) pleased, and gave them requitall. So, after we had passed some ten myle, which (by the pleasure and joye we tooke of our kinde interteynment, and for the comfort of our happy and hopefull discovery) we accompted scarce five, we came to the second ilet described in the ryver; over against which, on Popham syde, is the habitayon of the greate Kyng Pawatah, which I call Pawatah's Tower. It is scituat upon a highe hill by the water-syde; a playne betweene it and the water, twelve score over, whereon he sowes his wheate, beane, peaze, tobacco, pompions, gowrds, hempe, flaxe, &c.: and, were any art used to the naturall state of this place, it would be a goodly habitayon.<sup>8</sup> Heere we were conducted up the hill to the kyng; with whome we found our kinde Kyng Aratahec. Thes two satt by themselves aparte from all the rest (save one who satt by Powatah; and what he was I could not gesse, but they told me he was no wiroans). Many of his company satt on either syde; and the matts for us were layde right over against the kynges's. He caused his weomen to bring us vittailes, mulberyes, strawberryes, &c.; but our best entertaynment was frendly wellcome. In discoursing with him, we founde that all the kyngdomes from the<sup>9</sup> . . . were frends with him, and, to use his owne worde, *cheisc*; which

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<sup>8</sup> The writer's opinion has been confirmed in the course of two centuries and a half. Mr. Bruce, whose paper we have cited, gives a picture of Powhatan, the seat now occupied on the site of the royal farm here described. He says Smith's brief description is of itself ample to identify the locality. The falls are about a mile above: directly in front are the three islands; though one of them has been rednced by freshets to the humble station of a sand-bar. Of this there can be no question; since no other islands exist between the falls and the immediate neighborhood of the Appomatox, a distance of forty miles. "For considerably more than a century, Powhatan, as it is still styled, has been in the hands of the same family. Taste, time, and wealth have combined to enhance the natural beauty of the spot." — *Harpers' Magazine*, vol. xviii. p. 743.

<sup>9</sup> Erased in original.

is, "all one with him or under him." Also wee perceived the Chessipian to be an enemye generally to all thes kyngdomes: upon which I tooke occasion to signifye our displeasure with them also; making it knowne that we refused to plant in their countrys; that we had warres with them also, shewing hurts scarce whole, received by them; for which we vowed revenge after their manner, pointing to the sunne. Further, we certified him that we were friends with all his people and kyngdomes; neither had any of them offred us ill, or used us unkyndly. Hereupon he (very well understanding, by the wordes and signes we made, the significatyon of our meaning) moved, of his owne accord, a league of fryndship with us; which our captain kyndly imbraced, and, for concluding thereof, gave him his gowne, put it on his back himselfe, and, laying his hand on his breast, saying "Wingapoh chemuze" (the most kynde wordes of salutatyon that may be), he satt downe. Now, the day drawing on, we made signe to be gone; where-with he was contented, and sent six men with us: we also left a man with him, and departed. But now, rowing some three myle in shold water, we came to an overfall, impassible for boates any further. Here the water falles downe through great mayne rocks from ledges of rocks above, two fadome highe; in which fall it maketh divers little iletts, on which might be placed a hundred water-milnes for any uses. Our mayne ryver ebbs and flowes four foote, even to the skert of this downfall: shippes of two hundred or three hundred toone may come to within five myle hereof, and the rest deepe inoughe for barges or small vessells that drawe not above six foote water.<sup>1</sup> Having viewed this place, betweene content and greefe, we left it for this night, determyning the next day to fitt ourselfe for a march by land. So we road all night betweene Pawatah's Tower and that ilet I call<sup>2</sup> . . . ,

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<sup>1</sup> This description very perfectly indicates the fall at the city of Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> He has not given it any name: the manuscript is blank. It is the island opposite Powhatan.

whereon is six or seven families. One of our guydes which we had from Arahatac's Joy, whose name was Navirans, and now we found to be brother-in-lawe to Kyng Arahatec, desired to sleepe in the boate with us. We permitted him, and used him with all the kyndnes we coulede. He proved a very trustye frend, as after is declared. Now we sent for our man to Pawatah; who, coming, tolde us of his entertaynment,—how they had prepared matts for him to lye on, gave him store of victualls, and made as much on him as coulede be.

May 24, Sunday, Whit-Sunday. — Our captayne caused two peece of porke to be sodd ashore with pease, to which he invyted Kyng Pawatah; for Arahatec, perswading himselfe we would come downe the ryver that night, went home before dynner for preparatyon against our coming. But in presence of them both it fell out, that, we missing two bullet-baggs, which had shott and dyvers trucking toyes in them, we complayned to their kynges, who instantly caused them all to be restored, not wanting any thing: howbeit, they had devyded the shott and toyes to (at least) a dozen severall persons, and those also in the ilet over the water. One also, having stollen a knyfe, brought it againe upon this commande, before we supposed it lost, or had made any signe of it. So Capt. Newport gave thanks to the kyngs, and rewarded the theeves with the same toyes they had stollen, but kept the bullets; yet he made knowne unto them the custome of England to be death for such offences.

Now Arahatec departed; and, it being dynner-tyme, Kyng Pawatah, with some of his people, satt with us,—brought of his dyet,—and we fedd familiarly without sitting in his state as before. He eat very freshly of our meate; dranck of our beere, aquavite, and sack. Dynner done, we entred into discourse of the ryver: how far it might be to the head therof, where they gat their copper and their iron; and how many dayes' iourneye it was to Monanacah Rahowacah and the mountains Quirauk; requesting him to have guydes with us,

also, in our intended march; for our captaine deternyned to have travelled two or three dayes' journeye afoote up the ryver. But, without gyving any answer to our demands, he shewde he would meete us himselfe at the overfall; and so we parted. This Navirans accompanyed us still in the boate. According to his promyse, he mett us; where the fellow whome I have called our kynde consort, he that followed us from Turkey Ile, at the coming of Pawatah made signe to us we must make a shoute; which we dyd. Now, sitting upon the banck by the overfall, beholding the sonne,<sup>3</sup> he began to tell us of the tedyous travell we should have if wee proceeded any further; that it was a daye and a halfe jorney to Monanacah; and, if we went to Quirauck,<sup>4</sup> we should get no vittales, and be tyred; and sought by all meanes to disswade our captayne from going any further. Also he tolde us that the Monanacah was his enemye; and that he came downe at the fall of the leafe, and invaded his cuntrye. Now, what I conjecture of this I have left to a further experience. But our captayne, out of his discretyon (though we would faine have seene further; yea, and himselfe as desirous also), checkt his intentyon, and retorned to his boate; as holding it much better to please the kyng (with whome, and all of his command, he had made so faire way) then to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requests. So, upon one of the little iletts at the mouth of the falls, he sett up a crosse, with this inscriptyon,—“Iacobus, Rex, 1607;” and his owne name belowe. At the erecting hereof, we prayed for our kyng, and our owne prosperous succes in this his actyon; and proclaymed him kyng with a greate showte. The Kyng Pawatah was now gone (and, as we noted, somewhat distasted with our importunity of proceeding up further), and all the salvages likewise, save Navirans; who, seeing us set up a

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<sup>3</sup> The sun; or, perhaps, “looking westward.”

<sup>4</sup> The Blue Ridge, as above.



crosse with such a shoute, began to admire: but our captayne told him that the two armes of the crosse sygnified Kyng Pawatah and himselfe; the fastening of it in the myddest was their united leaug;<sup>5</sup> and the shoute, the reverence he dyd to Pawatah; which cheered Navirans not a litle. Also (which I have omytted) our captayne, before Pawatah departed, shewed him, that, if he would, he would give the wiroans of Monanacah into his hands, and make him king of that country; making signes to bring to his ayde five hundred men: which pleased the kyng muche; and upon this (I noted) he told us the tyme of the yere when his enemyes assaile him. So farr as we could discern the river above the overfall, it was full of huge rocks. About a myle of, it makes a pretty bigg iland. It runnes up betweene highe hilles, which increase in height, one above another, so farr as wee sawe. Now, our kynde consort's relatyon sayth (which I dare well beleeve, in that I found not any one report false of the river so farr as we tryed, or that he told us untruth in any thing els whatsoever), that, after a daye's journey or more, this river devyds itselfe into two branches, which both wind from the mountaynes Quirauck. Here he whispered with me, that their caquassun<sup>6</sup> was gott in the bites of rocks, and betweene cliffs in certayne vaynes. Having ended thus, of force, our discovery, our captayne intended to call of Kyng Pawatah: and, sending Navirans up to him, he came downe to the water-syde, where he went ashore single unto him; presented him with a hatchet; and staying but till Navirans had tolde (as we trewly perceived) the meaning of our setting up the crosse, which we found dyd exceedingly rejoyce him, he came aboorde with the kyndest farewell that possible might be. Now, at our putting off the boate, Navirans willed us to make a shout; which we dyd two severall times: at which the kyng and his company weaved their

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<sup>5</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>6</sup> "Red-stone," or copper.



skinnes about their heads, answering our shout with gladnes, in a frendly fashion. This night (though late) we came to Arahatec Joy, where we found the kyng ready to entertayne us, and had provided some victualls for us: but he tolde us he was very sick,<sup>7</sup> and not able to sitt up long with us; so we repaired aborde.

May 25.—Monday, he came to the water-syde; and we went ashore to him agayne. He tolde us that our hott dryncks, he thought, caused his greefe; but that he was well agayne, and we were very wellcome. He sent for another deere; which was roasted, and after sodd for us (as before). Our captayne caused his dynner to be dressed ashore also. Thus we satt banquetting all the forenoone. Some of his people led us to their houses; shewed us the growing of their corne, and the maner of setting it; gave us tobacco, wallnuts, mulberyes, strawberryes, and respises.<sup>8</sup> One shewed us the herbe called, in their tongue, wisacan; which they say heales poysoned wounds. It is like lyverwort, or bloudwort. One gave me a roote wherewith they poison their arrowes. They would shew us any thing we demaunded; and laboured very much, by signes, to make us understand their languadg.

Navirans, our guyde and this kyng's brother, made a complaint to Aratahec, that one of his people prest into our boate too vyolently upon a man of ours; which Capt. Newport (understanding the pronenes of his owne men to such injuryes), misconstruing the matter, sent for his owne man, bound him to a tree before Kyng Arahatec, and, with a cudgell, soundly beate him. The kyng, perceiving the error, stept up, and stayde our captayne's hand: and, sytting still a while, he spyed his owne man that did the injurye; upon which he silently rose, and made towards the fellow. He, seeing him come, run away: after ran the kyng, so swiftly, as, I assure

<sup>7</sup> This does not seem strange, when we consider the unwonted refreshment the poor king had had at dinner. This goes far to account for his gloom of the afternoon. (See the next day's narrative.)

<sup>8</sup> Raspberries.

myselfe, he myght gyve any of our company six score in twelve. With the kyng ran also dyvers others; who, all returning, brought cudgells and wands in their hands, all to be leived<sup>9</sup> as if they had beaten him extreanly.

At dynner, our captayne gave the kyng a glasse, and some aquavitæ therein; shewing him the benefytt of the water: for which he thanckt him kindly. And, taking our leave of him, he promised to meete us at a point not farr of, where he hath another house: which he performed withall; sending men into the woods to kill a dere for us, if they could. This place I call Mulbery Shade. He caused here to be prepared for us pegatewk-apijan; which is bread of their wheat, made in rolles and cakes. This the weomen make, and are very clenly about it. We had parched meale, excellent good; sodd beanes, which eate as sweete as filbert kernells, in a maner; strawberryes; and mulberyes were shaken off the tree, dropping on our heads as we satt. He made ready a land-turtle, which we eate; and shewed that he was hartely rejoyced in our company. He was desirous to have a musket shott off, shewing first the maner of their owne skirmishes; which, we perceive, is violent, cruell, and full of celerity. They use a tree to defend them in fight; and, having shott an enemy that he falls, they maull him with a short wodden sworde. Our captayne caused a gentleman discharge his peece, soul-dyer-like, before him: at which noyse he started, stopt his eares, and exprest much feare; so, likewise, all about him. Some of his people, being in our boate, leapt overboorde at the wonder hereof. But our course of kyndnes after, and letting him to witt that wee never use this thunder but against our enemyes, yea, and that we would assist him with thes to terrify and kill his adversaryes, he rejoyced the more: and we found it bred a better affectyon in him towards us; so that, by his signes, we understood he would or long be with

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<sup>9</sup> Probably intended for "beleived."

us at our fort. Capt. Newport bestowed on him a redd wast-cote, which highly pleased him; and so departed, gyving him also two shouts as the boate went of. This night we went some<sup>1</sup> . . . mile, and ankored at a place I call Kynd Woman's Care; which is<sup>2</sup> . . . mile from Mulbery Shade. Here we came within night: yet was there ready for us of bread new-made, sodden wheate, and beanes, mulberyes, and some fishe undressed; more then all we could eate. Moreover, thes people seemed not to crave any thing in requitall: howbeit, our captain voluntarily distributed guifts.

May 26, Tuesday. — We parted from Kynd Woman's Care, and, by directyon of Navirans (who still accompanied in the boate with us), went ashore at a place I call Queene Apumatec's Bowre. He caryed us along through a plaine lowe ground prepared for seede, part whereof had been lately cropt: and, assending a pretty hill, we sawe the queene of this country cominge in selvesame fashion of state as Pawatah or Arahatec; yea, rather with more majesty. She had an usher before her, who brought her to the matt prepared under a faire mulbery-tree; where she satt her downe by herselfe, with a stayed countenance. She would permitt none to stand or sitt neere her. She is a fatt, lustie, manly woman. She had much copper about her neck; a crownet of copper upon her hed. She had long, black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle; which only part was covered with a deare's skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woemen attending on her, adorned much like herselfe (save they wanted the copper). Here we had our accustomed eates, tobacco, and wellcome. Our captain presented her with guyfts liberally; whereupon shee cheered somewhat her countenance, and requested him to shoote off a peece; whereat (wee noted) she shewed not neere the like feare as Arahatec, though he be a goodly man. She had much corne

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<sup>1</sup> Blank in original.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

in the ground. She is subject to Pawatah, as the rest are; yet, within herselfe, of as greate authority as any of her neighbour wyoances. Capt. Newport stayd here some two houres, and departed.

Now, leaving her, Naviras<sup>3</sup> dyrected us to one of Kyng Pomaunche's howses, some five myle from the queene's bower. Here we were entertayned with greate joye and gladnes; the people falling to daunce, the weomen to preparing vitailles. Some boyes were sent to dive for muskles. They gave us tobacco, and very kyndly saluted us.

This kyng (sitting in maner of the rest) so set his countenance, stryving to be stately, as, to our seeing, he became foole. Wee gave him many presents, and certified him of our journey to the falles; our league with the greate kyng, Powatak; a most certayne frendship with Arahatec, and kynde entertaynement of the queene; that we were professed enemyes to the Chessepian, and would assist Kyng Powatak against the Monanacans. With this he seemed to be much rejoyced, and he would have had our captayne staye with him all night: which he refused not, but, single with the kyng, walked above two flight shott; shewing thereby his trew meaning, without distrust or feare. Howbeit, we followed aloofe of; and, coming up to a gallant mulberry-tree, we found divers preparing vittailles for us: but, the kyng seeing our intentyon was to accompany our captaine, he altered his purpose, and weaved us in kyndness to our boate. This Wyroans Pamaunche I holde to inhabite a ryche land of copper and pearle. His country lyes into the land to another ryver; which, by relation and descriptyon of the salvages, comes also from the mountaynes Quirauk, but a shorter journey. The copper he had, as also many of his people, was very flexible. I bowed a peece of the thicknes of a shilling rounde about my finger, as if it had been lead. I found them nice in parting with any.

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<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

They weare it in their cares, about their necks in long lyncks, and in broade plats on their heads. So we made no greate enquiry of it, neither seemed desirous to have it. The kyng had a chaine of pearle about his neck, thrice double, the third parte of them as bygg as pease; which I could not valew lesse worth than three or four hundred pounds, had the pearle ben taken from the muskle as it ought to be. His kyngdome is full of deare (so also is moste of all the kyngdomes). He hath (as the rest likewise) many ryche furies. This place I call Pamaunche's Pallace; howbeit, by Nauvarans his wordes, the Kyng of Winauk is possessor hereof. The platt of grownd is bare, without wood, some hundred acres; where are set beanes, wheate, peaze, tobacco, gourds, pompions, and other thinges unknowne to us in our tongue. Now, having left this kyng in kyndnes and frendship, we crossed over the water to a sharpe point; which is parte of Winauk, on Salisbury syde (this I call Careless Point). Here some of our men went ashore with Navirans; mett ten or twelve salvages, who offering them neither victualls nor tobacco, they requited their courtesy with the like, and left them. This night we came to Point Winauk; right against which we rested all night. There was an olde man with King Pamaunche (which I omitted in place to specify), who we understood to be a hundred and ten yere olde; for Navirans, with being with us in our boate, had learned me so much of the languadg, and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I could make him understand me, and perceive him also wellny<sup>4</sup> in any thing. But this knowledge our captain gott by taking a bough, and, singling off the leaves, let one drop after another, saying, "Caische;" which is, "ten." So, first, Naviras<sup>4</sup> tooke eleven beanes, and tolde them to us, pointing to this olde fellow; then a hundred and ten beanes; by which he awnswered to our demaund for ten yeres a beane, and also

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<sup>4</sup> *Sic.*



every yere by itselfe. This was a lustye olde man, of a sterne countenance, tall and streight; had a thinne, white beard; his armes overgrowne with white haire; and he went as strongly as any of the rest.

May 27, Wensday. — We went ashore at Point Winauk, where Navirans caused them to goe a-fishing for us; and they brought us, in a short space, good store. These seemed our good frindes. But (the cause I know not) heere Navirans tooke some conceyt; and though he shewed no discontent, yet would he by no meanes goe any further with us; saying he would but goe up to Kyng Aratahek, and then, within some three dayes after, he would see us at our fort. This greeved our captayne very deeply; for the loving-kyndnes of this fellow was such, as he trusted himselfe with us out of his owne country, intended to come to our forte, and, as wee came, he would make frendship for us before he would lett us goe ashore at any place, being (as it seemed) very carefull of our safety. So our captayne made all haste home; determining not to stay in any place, as fearing some disastrous happ at our forte. Which fell out as we expected, thus: After our departure, they seldome frequented our forte, but by one or two single now and then, practising upon opportunity, now in our absence, perceiving there secure caryadg in the forte. And the 26th of May, being the day before our returne, there came above two hundred of them, with their kyng, and gave a very furious assault to our forte; endaungering their overthrowe, had not the shippe's ordinance, with their small shott, daunted them. They came up almost into the forte; shott through the tents; appeared in this skirmishe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valiant people. They hurt us eleven men (whereof one dyed after), and killed a boy; yet perceived they not this hurt in us. We killed dyvers of them; but one wee sawe them tugg of on their backs, and how many hurt we knowe not. A little after, they made a huge noyse in the woods; which our men sur-



mised was at the burying of their slayne men. Foure of the counsell,<sup>5</sup> that stood in front, were hurt in mayntayning the forte; and our president, Mr. Wynckfeild<sup>6</sup> (who shewed himselfe a valiant gentleman), had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet scaped hurte.

Thus, having ended our discovery, — which we hope may tend to the glory of God, his majeste's renowne, our countrie's profytt, our owne advauncing, and fame to all posterity, — we settled ourselves to our owne safety, and began to fortifye; Capt. Newport, worthely of his owne accord, causing his seamen to ayde us in the best parte therof.

28, Thursday. — We laboured pallozdoing<sup>7</sup> our forte.

29, Fryday. — The salvages gave on againe, but with more feare; not daring approche scarce within musket-shott. They hurt not any of us; but, finding one of our doggs, they killed him. They shott above forty arrowes into and about the forte.

30, Satterday. — We were quyet.

Sunday. — They came lurking in the thickets and long grasse, and a gentleman, one Eustace Clovell, unarmed, stragling without the forte, shott six arrowes into him; wherewith he came runinge into the fort, crying, "Arme, arme!" thes stycking still. He lyved eight dayes, and dyed. The salvages stayed not, but run away.

June 1, Monday. — Some twenty appeared; shott dyvers arrowes at randome, which fell short of our forte, and rann away.

2, Tuesday; 3, Wensday. — Quyet; and wrought upon fortification, clapboord, and setting of corne.

4, Thursday. — By breake of day, three of them had most adventurously stollen under our bullwark, and hidden themselves in the long grasse. Spyed a man of ours going out to

<sup>5</sup> There were only five of the council in the fort, — Gosnold, Wingfield, Martin, Ratcliffe, and Kendall. Smith and Newport were absent with the exploring party.

<sup>6</sup> Wingfield.

<sup>7</sup> Palisadoing.

doe naturall necessity; shott him in the head, and through the clothes in two places, but missed the skynne.

5, Friday.—Quyet.

6, Satterday.—There being among the gentlemen and all the company a murmur and grudge against certayne preposterous proceedings and inconvenyent courses, put up a petytion to the counsell for reformatyon.

7, Sondag.—No accydent.

8, Monday.—Mr. Clovell dyed, that was shott with six arrowes sticking in him. This afternoone, two salvages presented themselves unarmed afarr of, crying, “Wingapoh!” There were also three more, having bowe and arrowes. These, we conjectured, came from some of those kyngs with whome we had perfect league: but one of our gentlemen, garding in the woods, and having no commandement to the contrary, shott at them; at which (as their custome is) they fell downe, and after run away. Yet farther of, we heard them cry, “Wingapoh!” notwithstanding.

9, Tuesday.—In cutting downe a greate oke for clapboard, there issued out of the hart of the tree the quantity of two baricoes of liquor,<sup>s</sup> in taste as good as any vyneger, save a little smack it tooke of the oke.

10, Wensday.—The counsell scanned the gentlemen’s petytion; wherein Capt. Newport, shewing himselfe no lesse carefull of our amitye and combyned frendship then became him in the deepe desire he had of our good, vehemently with ardent affectyon wonne our harts by his fervent perswasyon to uniformity of consent, and callmed that (out of our love to him) with ease, which I doubt, without better satisfactyon, had not contentedly ben caryed. We confirmed

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<sup>s</sup> This was probably an impure pyrolignous acid, formed from the decomposition of the wood. The discovery of such acid in hollow trees is not unusual. The surprise expressed at it is one more indication that the colonists of this party were not versed deeply in the mysteries of wood-cutting. Smith complains afterwards, that four carpenters and fifty gentlemen made up one party of emigrants.

a faythfull love one to another, and, in our hartes, subscribed an obedyence to our superyors this day. Capt. Smyth was this day sworne one of the counsell, who was elected in England.

11, Thursday. — Articles and orders for gentlemen and soldiers were upon the court of garde, and content was in the quarter.

12, Fryday. — Cutting downe another tree, the like accident of vineger proceeded.

13, Satterday. — Eight salvages lay close among the weedes and long grasse; and, spying one or two of our maryners — Mr. Jhon Cotson and Mr. Mathew Fitch — by themselves, shott Mathew Fytch in the breast somewhat dangerously, and so rann away. This morning, our admirall's men gott a sturgeon of seven foote long; which Capt. Newport gave us.

14, Sondaye. — Two salvages presented themselves unarmed; to whome our president and Capt. Newport went out. One of these was that fellow I call, in my relatyon of discovery, our kinde consort; being hee we mett at Turkye Ile. These certified us who were our frendes, and who foes; saying that Kyng Pamaunke, Kyng Arahatec, the Kyng of Yough-tamong, and the Kyng of Matapull, would either assist us, or make us peace with Paspciouk, Tapahanauk, Wynauk, Apamatcoh, and Chescaik, our contracted enemyes. He counselled us to cutt downe the long weeds rounde about our forte, and to proceede in our sawing. Thus, making signes to be with us shortly agayne, they parted.

15, Monday. — We wrought upon clapborde for England.

16, Tuesday. — Two salvages without from Salisbury syde, being Tapahanauk's country. Capt. Newport went to them in the barge, ymagining they had ben our Sonday frends. But thes were Tapahanauk's, and cryed (treacherously), "Win-gapoh!" saying their king was on the other syde of a point; where, had our barge gone, it was so shold water as they might have effected their villanous plott. But our admirall

tolde them Tapahanauk was “matah” and “chirah;” wherat, laughing, they went away.

17, Wensdaye. — No accydent.

18, Thursdaye.     „     „

19, Frydaye.       „     „

20, Satterday.     „     „

21, Sondag. — We had a comunyon. Capt. Newport dynded ashore with our dyet, and invyted many of us to supper as a farewell.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Newport then sailed for England, and probably carried this full and interesting journal with him. The papers which follow appear to be written at the same time. Some of the earlier writers say Newport sailed on the 15th; but that date is clearly wrong.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE NOW-DISCOVERED RIVER AND COUNTRY  
OF VIRGINIA; WITH THE LIKLYHOOD OF ENSUING RITCHES, BY  
ENGLAND'S AYD AND INDUSTRY.

THIS river (we have named our Kinge's River) ex-  
tends itself a hundred and sixty myles into the  
mayne land, betweene two fertile and fragrant banks, two  
myles, a myle, and, where it is least, a quarter of a myle  
broad; navigable for shipping of three hundred tunns, a hun-  
dred and fifty myles; the rest deep enough for small vessells  
of six foot draught. It ebbs and flowes four foote even to the  
skirt of an overfall; where the water falls downe  
from huge great rocks, making in the fall five or  
six severall ileetts, very fitt for the buylding of water-milnes  
thereon. Beyond this, not two dayes' journey, it hath two  
branches, which come through a highe, stoney country,  
from certain huge mountaines called Quirauk; beyond  
which needs no relacon (this from the overfall was the report  
and description of a faithfull fellow, who I dare well trust  
upon good reasons). From these mountaines Quirauk come  
two lesse rivers, which runn into this great one; but whether  
deep enough for shippes or noe, I yet understand not. There  
be many small rivers of brooks, which unlade them-  
selves into this mayne river at severall mouthes;  
which veynes devide the salvage kingdomes in many places,  
and yeeld pleasant seates in all the country over by moys-  
tening the frutefull mould. The mayne river abounds  
with sturgeon,—very large, and excellent good;  
having also, at the mouth of every brook and  
in every creek, both store and exceeding good fish of divers  
kinds; and in the large sounds neere the sea are  
multitudes of fish, banks of oysters, and many great

The King's  
River.

An overfall.

Many small  
rivers.

Sturgeon.

Multitudes  
of fish.

crabbs, rather better in taste than ours; one able to suffice four men. And within sight of land, into the sea, we expect at tyme of yeare to have a good fishing for rodd; as both at our first entring we might perceive by palpable conjecture, seeing the codd follow the shipp, yea, bite at the<sup>1</sup> . . . ;

Codd-fish. as also out of my owne experience, not farre of to the northward, the fishing I found in my first voyage to Virginia. This land lyeth low at the mouth of the river, and is sandy ground, all over besett with fayre pine-trees: but a little up the river it is reasonable high; and, the further we goe (till we come to the overfall), it still ryseth increasing. It is generally replenisht with wood of all kinds, and that the fayrest, yea, and best, that ever any of us (traveller or workman) ever sawe; being fitt for any use whatsoever,—as shippes, howses, planks, pales, boords, masts, waynscott, clappboard, for pikes or els-what.

The land's description. Lowland. Full of wood.

A frutefull soyle. The soyle is more fertill then can be well exprest. It is altogether aromaticall, giving a spicy taste to the rootes of all trees, plants, and hearbs; of itself a black, fatt, sandy mould, somewhat slymy in touch, and sweet in savour; under which, about a yard, is in most places a redd clay, fitt for brick; in other, marle; in some, significations of mynne-rall; in other, gravell-stones and rocks. It hath, in diverse places, fuller's earth, and such as comes out of Turkey, called *Terra sigillata*.<sup>2</sup> It produceth, of one corne, of that country wheate, sometymes two or three stemes or stalks, on which grow eares above a spann longe, besett with cornes, at the least three hundred upon an eare; for the most part, five, six, and seven hundred. The beanes and peaz of this country have a great increase also: it yeelds two cropps a yeare.

<sup>1</sup> Blank.

<sup>2</sup> *Terra sigillata* is also mentioned by Hariot. Dr. Hawks says it is found in Lemnos, sometimes called *Terra Lemnia*, and used in medicine. It is sometimes called *sphragide*.



Being tempered, and tyme taken, I hould it nature's nurst to all vegetables; for, I assure myself, no knowne continent brings forth any vendible necessaryes which this, by planting, will not afford. For testimony in part, this we fynd by proof: From the West Indies we brought a certeine delicious fruite, called a *pina*; which the Spanyard, by all art possible, could never procure to grow in any place but in his naturall site. This we rudely and carelessly sett in our mould, which fostereth it, and keepes it greene; and to what issue it may come, I know not. Our West-Indy plants of oranges and cotten-trees thrive well; likewise the potatoes, pumpions, and mellions.<sup>3</sup> All our garden-seeds that were carefully sowne prosper well; yet we onely digged the ground half a<sup>4</sup> . . . deep, threw in the seeds at randome, carelessly, and scarce rakt it. It naturally yeelds

mulberry-trees, cherry-trees, vines abundance,

The rubbish this  
land naturally  
bringeth forth.

goosberyes, strawberyes, hurtleberyes, respesses,<sup>5</sup> ground nutts, scarretts, the roote called *Sigilla christi*, certaine sweet, thynn-shelled nutts, certaine ground aples, a pleasant fruite, any<sup>6</sup> many other unknowne. So the thing we crave is some skillfull man to husband, sett, plant, and dresse vynes, suger-canes, olives, rapes, hemp,

The liklyhood  
of profit by  
industry.

flax, lycoris, pruyns, currants, raysons, and all such things as the north tropick of the world affords; also saffran, woad, hoppes, and such like.

The comedities of this country, what they are *in esse*, is not much to be regarded; the inhabitants having no comerce with any nation, no respect of profit; neither is there scarce that we call *meum et tuum* among them, save onely the kings know their owne territoryes,

The country  
comodities.

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<sup>3</sup> Here appears a reason, which the historians of Virginia have overlooked, for Newport's circuitous voyage thither. Gosnold, who was with him, had made the direct passage before this time. The text will bear another construction; but it would seem as if the potatoes were named among the West-India plants.

<sup>4</sup> Blank.

<sup>5</sup> Raspberries.

<sup>6</sup> Probably for "and."

and the people their severall gardens. Yet this, for the present, by the consent of all our seamen: meerly our fishing for sturgeon cannot be lesse worth then a thousand pounds a yeare, leaving hering and codd as possibilities.

Our clapboord and waynscott (if shipps will but fetch it) we may make as much as England can vent. We can send (if we be frends with the salvages, or be able to force them) two, three, four, or five thousand pounds a yeare of the earth called *Terra sigillata*; saxafrage, what store we please; tobacco, after a yeare or two, five thousand pounds a yeare. We have (as we suppose) ritch dyes, if they prove vendible, worth more than yet is nominated; we have excellent furs, in some places of the country great store; we can make pitch, rozen, and turpentine. There is a gume which bleedeth from a kind of maple (the bark being cutt), not much unlike a balsome both in sent and vertue; apothecary-druggs of diverse sorts, some knowne to be of good estimacon, some strange, of whose vertue the salvages report wonders. We can, by our industry and plantacon of comodious marchandize, make oyles, wyne, soape-ashes, wood-ashes; extract from minerall-earth, iron, copper, &c. We have a good fishing for muskles, with resonable mother-of-perle; and, if the pearle we have seene in the kings' eares and about their necks come from these shells, we know the banks. To conclude, I know not what can be expected from a comonwealth that either this land affords not or may soone yeeld.

Sturgeon.

Terra  
sigillata.

Saxafrage.

Tobacco.

Dyes.

Furs.

Pitch.

Rozen.  
Turpentine.A maple  
gume.Wisacan, or  
Virginia blond-  
wort, which  
heales poysoned  
wounds.

Iron, copper.

Pearle  
muskells.

## A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PEOPLE.

There is a king in this land called Great Pawatah, under whose dominions are at least twenty severall kingdomes, yet each king potent as a prince in his owne territory. These have their subjects at so quick comaund, as a beck brings obedience, even to the restitucon of stolne goods; which, by their naturall inclinacon, they are loth to leave. They goe all naked, save their privities; yet, in coole weather, they weare deare-skinns, with the hayre on, loose. Some have leather stockings up to their twists, and sandalls on their feet. Their hayre is black generally, which they weare long on the left side, tyed up on a knott; about which knott the kings and best among them have a kind of coronett of deare's hayre colored redd. Some have chaines of long, linckt copper about their necks, and some chaines of pearle. The comon sort stick long fethers in this knott. I found not a gray dye among them all. Their skynn is tawny; not so borne, but with dying and paynting themselves, in which they delight greatly. The wemen are like the men, onely this difference,—their hayre groweth long al over their heads, save clipt somewhat short afore. These do all the labour, and the men hunt and goe at their plesure. They live comonly by the water-side, in litle cottages made of canes and reeds, covered with the barke of trees. They dwell, as I guesse, by families of kindred and allyance, some fortie or fiftie in a hatto or small village; which townes are not past a myle or half a myle asunder in most places. They live upon sodden wheat, beanes, and peaze, for the most part; also they kill deare, take fish in their weares, and kill fowle abundance. They eate often, and that liberally. They are proper, lusty, streught<sup>1</sup> men; very strong; runn exceeding swiftly. Their

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<sup>1</sup> Straight.

feight is alway in the wood, with bow and arrowes, and a short wodden sword. The celerity they use in skirmish is admirable. The king directs the batle, and is alwayes in front. Their manner of entertainment is upon mattes on the ground, under some tree, where they sitt themselves, alone, in the midst of the matt; and two matts on each side, on which they people sitt: then, right against him (making a square forme) satt wee alwayes. When they come to their matt, they have an usher goes before them; and the rest, as he sitts downe, give a long shout. The people steale any thing comes neare them; yea, are so practized in this art, that, lookeing in our face, they would with their foot, betweene their toes, convey a chizell, knife, percer, or any indifferent light thing; which, having once conveyed, they hold it an injury to take the same from them. They are naturally given to trechery; howbeit, we could not finde it in our travell up the river, but rather a most kind and loving people. They sacrifice tobacco to the sunn, fayre picture, or a harmefull thing,—as a swoord or peece also: they strinckle<sup>2</sup> some into the water in the morning before they wash. They have many wives; to whome, as neare I could perceive, they keep constant. The great king, Pawatah, had most wives. These they abide not to be toucht before their face. The great disease reignes in the men generally, full fraught with noodes, botches, and palpable appearances in their foreheads. We found above a hundred. The wemen are very cleanly in making their bread and prepareing meat. I found they account after death to goe into another world, pointing eastward to the element; and, when they saw us at prayer, they observed us with great silence and respect, especially those to whome I had imparted the meaning of our reverence. To conclude, they are a very witty and ingenious people, apt both to understand and speake our language. So that I hope in God, as he hath miraculously preserved us hither from all daun-

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<sup>2</sup> Sprinkle.

gers both of sea and land and their fury, so he will make us authors of his holy will in converting them to our true Christian faith, by his owne inspiring grace and knowledge of his deity.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence as to the authorship of these papers.





# “A DISCOURSE OF VIRGINIA.”

BY

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD,

THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE COLONY.

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*Now first printed from the Original Manuscript in the Lambeth Library.*

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**Edited, with Notes and an Introduction,**

BY CHARLES DEANE, A.M.,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



# WINGFIELD'S DISCOURSE OF VIRGINIA.

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## INTRODUCTION.

ABOUT three years since, my attention was first directed to this narrative of Wingfield in the Lambeth Library, by the reference made to it in the first volume of the Rev. James S. M. Anderson's "History of the Church of England in the Colonies," &c., first published in London in 1845. In lamenting the lack of definite information concerning the Rev. Robert Hunt, the first minister in the Colony, the author says, "I am thankful, however, to have found in the Lambeth Library a manuscript which throws some light, however faint, upon this latter point. It is marked in the catalogue as 'anonymous'; and the description is so far correct, that its author's name is not formally inscribed upon it. The dedication is not signed at all; but, perceiving that it was a journal of the earliest proceedings of the Colony, I felt persuaded that it would well repay perusal. Nor was I disappointed; for I found it written by a person of no less importance than Edward Maria Wingfield, — one of those to whom the patent was granted, and who, upon the arrival of the colonists in Virginia, was elected their first President. It contains a minute account of the transactions which chiefly concerned himself, from the time of their first landing in Virginia to his return to England, after he

had been deposed from his office. . . . I am not aware that its contents have in any shape been placed before the public" (vol. i. p. 167, second edition, London, 1856). The author, in the preface, expresses his obligation to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian at Lambeth, for the help which he afforded in deciphering the manuscript.

The application for a copy of this manuscript, which I at once formed the purpose of making, was delayed until within a few months; when one was promptly procured for me through my friend, Mr. H. G. Somerby, of London, who, in a note respecting the original, thus writes: "The journal fills about twenty pages of foolscap paper, and is closely written. Mr. Anderson is wrong in stating that it is marked 'anonymous' in the catalogue. That word refers to another manuscript. Mr. Wingfield's name is indorsed on the back of the journal." In a note accompanying the copy, he says, "I have carefully compared the copy with the original, and corrected several mistakes made by the copyist; so that you can rely upon the document I send you, *verbatim et literatim*." The indorsement upon the journal, which is in vol. 250 of MSS. pp. 383 *et seq.*, is, "A Discourse of Virginia. Auct. Ed. Ma. Wingfield."

Since the time of Purchas, who probably had seen this narrative (see vol. iv. p. 1706), it appears to have escaped the notice of historical students till the attention of Mr. Anderson was attracted to it. As will be seen, the "Discourse" is written in part, if not chiefly, in defence of the author's course while President of the Colony, and in reply to the charges preferred against

him ; and was probably drawn up soon after his return to England in May, 1608.

Soon after I had received a copy of this manuscript, I learned that the Antiquarian Society — which was just committing a volume to the press — had been favored with a copy of the journal of Newport's discovery of James River, to which Wingfield's narrative forms a fit complement. It seemed to me proper that the two papers should be printed together. I accordingly submitted the latter, for that purpose, to the Chairman of the Publishing Committee, who gladly accepted it, and who requested me to prepare it for publication, to follow the "journal" then in the printer's hands.

The only original Histories of the Colony at Jamestown, hitherto published, covering the period embraced by this manuscript, are, — First, the one by Capt. John Smith, giving a history of the settlement from the arrival of the colonists in April, 1607, to the sailing of Capt. Nelson in the "Phoenix," June 2, 1608. This may have been sent over by that vessel ; as it was printed the same year, in a small quarto of thirty-six pages, in black letter, with the following title : —

"A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the south part thereof, till the last returne from thence. Written by Captaine Smith, coronell of the said Collony, to a worshipfull friend of his in England. London, . . . 1608."

It may be mentioned, that the title first issued with this tract, by a mistake of the printer, bore the name of

Thomas Watson as the author. With the corrected title was added an explanatory preface. This is the first tract published relating to the Colony at Jamestown.

Second, the description of Virginia by Capt. Smith, entitled —

“A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government, and Religion. Written by Captaine Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey. Whereunto is annexed the Proceedings of those Colonies, since their first Departure from England, with the discourses, Orationes, and relations of the Salvages, and the accidents that befell them in all their Journeys and discoveries. Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Doctor Ryssell, Tho. Stvdley, Anas Todkill, Ieffra Abot, Richard Wifin, Will. Phettiplace, Nathaniel Powell, Richard Pots, . . . At Oxford, . . . 1612.”

The first part of this tract, purporting to be written by Smith, is, as its title indicates, a topographical description of the country. It was prefaced by his map of Virginia, first published here. In a letter addressed to the Treasurer and Council of the Virginia Company in England, written from Virginia after the arrival of Newport, in September, 1608, and probably sent home by him near the close of the year, Smith says, “I have sent you this map of the bay and rivers, with an annexed relation of the countries, and nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large” (“Generall Historie,” pp. 71, 72). The appendix to this book, written chiefly by the companions of Smith, contains a history of the Colony, more or less minute, from its commencement to the time when Capt. Smith left the country in the latter part of



the year 1609; and some incidents even of a later date are added.

Third, Percy's narrative, in Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1685-1690, entitled —

“Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantations of the Southern Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy.”

The writer was a brother of the Earl of Northumberland. He was one of the first colonists, and subsequently a temporary governor of the plantation. To what period this narrative was brought down by the writer, we have no means of knowing; as Purchas has unfortunately preserved only an abridgment of it, in six of his folio pages, breaking off at September, 1607. This contains a minute and interesting account of the incidents of the first voyage, which are but briefly touched upon by the other narrators; and some details of the Colony are given, to be met with nowhere else.

The above may be said to embrace all the original Histories of the Colony that have been published, covering the period named; one of them extending over a longer period. A few additional incidents, here and there, may be gathered from other sources, particularly from some of Smith's later publications. His “Generall Historie,” first published in 1624, — which is chiefly a compilation of other works, — embraces the tract of 1612, and some incidents from the earlier one; and occasionally introduces matter not to be found in either. The work of Strachey, — first published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849, — so far as it relates to Southern Vir-

ginia, is chiefly a description of the natural history of the country, rather than an account of the English Colony there resident. He did not arrive in Virginia till 1610. A considerable portion of Smith's tract of 1612 has been adopted by him, and interwoven into his own narrative, without acknowledgment. Stith's volume I do not embrace in this category of original narratives for the early period covered by Wingfield's manuscript; though he is referred to for the letters-patent and orders and instructions from his Majesty, under which the Colony was first settled. The history of the Colony, therefore, for the period which chiefly interests us here, — and, indeed, for a year or two beyond, — is mainly derived from the writings of Smith and his companions. Through these, Wingfield, the first President, has been handed down in no favorable light. Several charges have been made against him, hitherto unanswered. His spirited narrative and defence, now for the first time published, will be read with interest.

The letters-patent under which the settlement at Jamestown was made were granted April 10, 1606. Besides these, the King issued divers instructions and orders, under his sign-manual and the privy seal, dated Nov. 20, 1606. The charter established a Treasurer and Council, to be resident in England, to consist of thirteen persons; and the same number was to constitute a Council resident in the Colony. The transportation of the persons designed for the Colony was committed to Capt. Christopher Newport, who had the sole charge and command of the same till they should

land on the coast of Virginia. Three ships, whose names are preserved by Purchas, transported the company,—the “Susan Constant,” admiral, of one hundred tons, commanded by Capt. Newport; the “God-speed,” vice-admiral, of forty tons, commanded by Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold; the “Discovery,” rear-admiral (the pinnace), of twenty tons, commanded by Capt. John Ratcliffe. They set sail on the 19th of December, 1606; but, by unprosperous winds, were kept in sight of England six weeks. They “watered at the Canaries;” passed several weeks among some of the West-India Islands, where they “refreshed themselves;” and did not reach the coast of Virginia till the 26th of April, 1607. On the night of their arrival, the box containing their orders for government was opened, and the papers, announcing who were appointed of the Council, were read. Until the 13th of May, the colonists were seeking a place for a settlement, about which all were not agreed. Finally “they resolved on a peninsula, on the north of the River Powhatan, about forty miles from the mouth.” There the government was inaugurated; the Council was sworn, and Wingfield, one of that body, was chosen President.

Before the colonists arrived on the coast, a modification of his Majesty's Council in England for Virginia had taken place; and subsequently other charters were granted.

This brief introduction to the narrative which follows is not intended to embrace an extended notice of the Colony.

## “A DISCOURSE OF VIRGINIA.”

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*Right Worps<sup>all</sup> and more worthy:*<sup>1</sup>—

My due respect to yourselves, my allegiance (if I may so terme it) to the Virginean action, my good heed to my poore reputa<sup>ti</sup>on, thrust a penne into my handes; so iealous am I to bee missing to any of them. If it wandereth in extravagantes, yet shall they not bee idle to those physitions whose loves have undertaken the saftie and advancement of Virginia.

It is no small comfort that I speake before such gravitie, whose iudgement no forrunner can forestall with any opprobrious vntruths, whose wisdomes can easily disroabe malice out of her painted garments from the ever revered truth.

I did so faithfully betroth my best endeavours to this noble enterprize, as my carriage might endure no suspicion. I never turned my face from daunger, or hidd my handes from labour; so watchfull a sentinel stood myself to myself. I know wel, a troope of errors continually beseege men's actions; some of them ceased on by malice, some by ignorance. I doo not hoodwinck my carriage in my self love, but freely and humblie submit it to your grave censures.

I do freely and truely anatomize the gouvernement and governours, that your experience may applie medicines accordinglie; and vpon the truth of this iournal do pledge my faith and life, and so do rest

Yours to command in all service.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Addressed, doubtless, to his Majesty's Council, in England, for Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> The above comprises the first page in the manuscript. Mr. Somerby writes that it “is in a different hand from the rest; and it wants the signature, as does the body of the manuscript.”

*Here followeth what happened in James Towne, in Virginia, after Captayne Newport's departure for Engliund.*

Captayne Newport,<sup>3</sup> haueing allwayes his eyes and eares open to the proceedings of the Collonye, 3 or 4 dayes before his departure asked the President how he thought himself settled in the gouernment: whose answere was, that no disturbance could indaunger him or the Collonye, but it must be wrought cyther by Captayne Gosnold or Mr Archer;<sup>4</sup> for the one was strong w<sup>th</sup> freinds and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled w<sup>th</sup> an ambitious spirit, and would if he could.

The Captayne gave them both knowledge of this, the President's opinion; and moued them, with many intreaties, to be myndefull of their duties to His Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Collonye.

June, 1607. — The 22<sup>th</sup>,<sup>5</sup> Captayne Newport retorne for England; for whose good passadge and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our Almighty God.

June the 25<sup>th</sup>, an Indian came to us from the great Poughwaton w<sup>th</sup> the word of peace; that he desired greatly our

<sup>3</sup> Capt. Newport "was esteemed a mariner of ability and experience on the American coasts: for he had, fourteen years before (anno 1592), with much reputation and honor, conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies; where, with three ships and a small bark, he took several prizes, plundered and burnt some towns, and got a considerable booty." — *Stith*, p. 42. He was a member of the first Colonial Council. — *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> The names of Bartholomew Gosnold and Gabriel Archer are too well known to students of New-England history to need further mention here. One of the writers in the Appendix to Smith's Virginia (Oxford, 1612) says that the former was the "first mover" of the plantation of Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> In the tract last named, the date given for Newport's return is June 15; and some later writers have adopted that. But the date in the text is confirmed by Smith, in his first tract on Virginia, entitled "True Relation," &c., 1608 (a black-letter volume, not paged); by Percy, in *Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1689; and by the writer of the journal, *ante*, p. 58. Newport left 104 colonists at Jamestown. — *Percy*, as above. In the Appendix to Smith's "Virginia," p. 8, the number of the "first planters" is stated to be 105; but in the list of names, so far as there given, that of Anthony Gosnold is inserted twice.



freindshipp; that the wyrounnces,<sup>6</sup> Pasyaheigh and Tapanahagh,<sup>7</sup> should be our freindes; that wee should sowe and reape in peace, or els he would make warrs vpon them w<sup>th</sup> vs. This message fell out true; for both those wyroaunces haue ever since remayned in peace and trade with vs. Wee rewarded the messinger w<sup>th</sup> many tryfles w<sup>ch</sup> were great wonders to him.

This Powatan<sup>8</sup> dwelleth 10 myles from vs, upon the River Pamaonche, w<sup>ch</sup> lyeth North from vs. The Powatan in the former iornall<sup>9</sup> mençoned (a dwellar by Captn. Newport's faults<sup>1</sup>) ys a wyroaunce, and vnder this Great Powaton, w<sup>ch</sup> before wee knew not.

July. — Th 3 of July, 7 or 8 Indians presented the President a deare from Pamaonke,<sup>2</sup> a wyrouaunce, desiring our friendship. They enquired after our shipping; w<sup>ch</sup> the

<sup>6</sup> "His [Powhatan's] inferior kings, whom they call Werowances, are tied to rule by customs, and have power of life and death, as their command in that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and conster for a king, is a common word whereby they call all commanders; for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more than one commander." — *Smith's Virginia*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> The residence of Pasyaheigh, or, as the name is usually written, Paspahagh, may have been at the spot bearing that name, which is indicated on Smith's map of Virginia as a few miles above Jamestown, on the James River. The name "Paspahagh" appears to have been applied by the Indians to the territory which embraced Jamestown. — See *Humor's True Discouerie*, &c. (London, 1615), p. 38. For the residence of Tapanahagh, see note 6, on the following page.

<sup>8</sup> He was the "chief ruler," or "emperor," of that part of the country. His principal residence, at this time, was at a place called Werowocomoco, "upon the north side of York River." — *Stith*, p. 53. "Some fourteen miles from Jamestown," says Smith, in his "Virginia," p. 34, where the reader will find a particular description of this chief; and a more full one by Strachey, in his "Historie of Travaile in Virginia Britannia," pp. 48-50.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the journal of Newport's discoveries; *ante*, p. 40. It is not improbable that the Powhatan visited by Newport was a son of the emperor. — See *Strachey*, p. 56. Smith was with Newport at this time; and it is quite certain, from all the narratives, that the former first saw the Emperor Powhatan at Werowocomoco, when brought before him as a prisoner, in December or January following. — See *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 14; *True Relation*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Opechancanough, King of Pamaunkey, seated on the river of that name; the main part of which is now called York River. — See *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, pp. 66, 67; *True Relation*; *Stith*, p. 53; *ante*, pp. 52, 53.



President said was gon to Crouton.<sup>3</sup> They fear much our shippes; and therefore he would not haue them think it farr from us. Their wyrounce had a hatchet sent him. They wear well contented w<sup>th</sup> trifles. A little after this came a dear to the President from the Great Powatan. He and his messingers were pleased w<sup>th</sup> the like trifles. The President likewise bought diuers tymes dear of the Indyans; beavers, and other flesh; w<sup>ch</sup> he alwayes caused to be equally deuided among the Collonye.

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. We myssed about fforty before September did see us;<sup>4</sup> amongst whom was the worthy and religious gent. Captn. Bartholomew Gosnold,<sup>5</sup> vpon whose liefs stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and Collony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretel his owne deposing from his comaund; so much differed the President and the other Councillors in mannaging the government of the Collonye.

July.—The 7<sup>th</sup> of July, Tapahanah, a wyroaunce, dweller on Salisbery<sup>6</sup> side, hayled us with the word of peace. The President, w<sup>th</sup> a shallopp well manned, went to him. He found him sytting on the ground crossed legged, as is their custom, w<sup>h</sup> one attending on him, w<sup>ch</sup> did often saie, "This is the wyroaunce Tapahanah;" w<sup>ch</sup> he did likewise confirme w<sup>th</sup> stroaking his brest. He was well enough knowne; for the Presi-

<sup>3</sup> Crouton was an Indian town on the south part of Cape Lookout; the place to which, it was supposed, the Colony, or the remnant of the Colony, left by Gov. White at Roanoke in 1587, had gone, and concerning whom all subsequent search had proved fruitless.

<sup>4</sup> "About the 10th of September, there was about forty-six of our men dead." — *True Relation*. "From May to September, those that escaped lived upon sturgeon and sea-crabs: fifty in this time we buried." — *Studley*, in Smith's Virginia, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> "The two and twentieth day of August, there died Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, one of our Council. He was honorably buried; having all the ordnance in the fort shot off, with many volleys of small shot." — *Percy*, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1690.

<sup>6</sup> "Coacohanauke — which we commonly (though corruptly) call Tapahanock, and is the same which Capt. Smith, in his map, calls Quiyoughcohanock, on the south shore [of James River], or Salisbury side" — was probably the residence of this chief. — *Strachey*, p. 56. "Popham side" was on the north shore. — See *ante*, pp. 42, 57.

dent had sene him diſse tymes before. His countynance was nothing cherefull; for we had not seen him since he was in the feild against vs: but the President would take no knowledge thereof, and vsed him kindely; giving him a red wascoat, w<sup>ch</sup> he did desire.

Tapahanah did enquire after our shipping. He receyued answer as before. He said his ould store was spent; that his new was not at full growth by a foote; that, as soone as any was ripe, he would bring it; w<sup>ch</sup> promise he truly pformed.

The . . . <sup>7</sup> of . . . <sup>7</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Kendall was put of from being of the Counsell, and comitted to prison; for that it did manifestly appeare he did practize to sowe discord betweene the President and Councell.<sup>8</sup>

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our towne. God's onely mercy did now watch and warde for us: but the President hidd this our weaknes carefully from the salvages; neuer suffering them, in all his tyme, to come into our towne.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Blanks in the original manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> The first Council for the Colony, appointed in England, consisted of Edward Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, George Kendall. — *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 3. Owing to suspicions entertained of Smith, he was not sworn of the Council till June 10, — twelve days before the return of Newport for England. — *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6; *ante*, p. 57. Kendall was deposed, probably, soon after the death of Gosnold. — See *True Relation*, and *Percy* as above.

<sup>9</sup> Percy, one of the party, gives a sad picture of the sufferings endured by the colonists at this period. How striking a parallel is presented to the condition of the Pilgrims at Plymouth during the first winter and spring! He gives a list of the names of nineteen persons who died in August, and five who died in September. "Our men," he says, "were destroyed with cruel diseases — as swellings, fluxes, burning fevers — and by wars, and some departed suddenly; but, for the most part, they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new-discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights, lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather soever came; warded all the next day; which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small can of barley, sod in water, to five men a day; our drinke, cold water taken out of the river, which was at a flood very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth; which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived, for the space of five months, in this miserable distress; not having five able men to man our bulwarks upon any occasion.

Septem.—The vij<sup>th</sup> of September, Pasyaheigh sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace w<sup>th</sup> vs; besides, wee found them no canyballs.<sup>1</sup>

The boye obserued the men & women to spend the most p<sup>t</sup> of the night in singing or howling, and that euey morning the women carryed all the litle children to the river's sides; but what they did there, he did not knowe.

The rest of the wyroaunces doe likewise send our men runnagats to vs home againe, vsing them well during their being with them; so as now, they being well rewarded at home at their retorne, they take litle ioye to trauell abroad w<sup>h</sup>out pasports.

The Councell demanded some larger allowance for themselves, and for some sick, their fauorites; w<sup>ch</sup> the President would not yeeld vnto, w<sup>th</sup>out their warrants.

This matter was before ppounded by Captn. Martyn,<sup>2</sup> but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xiiij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunt's<sup>3</sup>

If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages' hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak state as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort, most pitifull to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitifull murmurings and outcries of our sick men, without relief, every night and day, for the space of six weeks; some departing out of the world, many times three or four in a night; in the morning, their bodies trailed out of their cabins, like dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of diuers of our people."—*Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1690. "The living were scarce able to bury the dead."—"As yet, we had no houses to cover us; our tents were rotten, and our cabins worse than nought. The President and Capt. Martin's sickness constrained me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no pains in making houses for the company."—*Smith's True Relation*.

<sup>1</sup> Smith believed that some of the Indians in the neighborhood of Jamestown were cannibals; and he gives a strange relation in proof of it, in connection with an account of their yearly sacrifices.—*Smith's Virginia*, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Martin was one of the original Colonial Council.—*Ante*, p. 80, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> His majesty's orders for the government of the Colonies provided for the appointment of one person in each Colony to be "Treasurer, or Cape-merchant, of the same."—*Stith*, p. 39. Thomas Studley was the first who filled that office in Virginia. Among the deaths this year in August, recorded by Percy, in *Purchas*, as above, is that of "Thomas Stoodie, Cape-merchant." This would seem to be no other than Studley; yet his name appears, in the Appendix to *Smith's Virginia*, as a narrator of events which took place after the above date. It is quite likely that the editor of these narratives misapprehended, in some particulars, as to their authorship.

hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before wee expected Captn. Newport's retorne; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauor his voyage; the long tyme before our haruest would bee ripe; and the doubtfull peace that wee had w<sup>th</sup> the Indyns, w<sup>ch</sup> they would keepe no longer then oportunity served to doe vs mischeif.

It was then therefore ordered that euery meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole. The Councell, therefore, sitting againe upon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to break the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces redde to be shewed vnder their handes. Now was the comon store of oyle, vinigar, sack, & aquavite all spent, saueing twoe gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Comunion Table, the rest for such extremityes as might fall upon us, w<sup>ch</sup> the President had onely made knowne to Captn. Gosnold; of w<sup>ch</sup> course he liked well. The vessells wear, therefore, boonged vpp. When Mr Gosnold was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell w<sup>th</sup> the said remnant: but, Lord, how they then longed for to sup up that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their own bottles, and all other that they could smell out.

A little while after this, the Councell did againe fall vpon the President for some better allowance for themselves, and some few the sick, their priuates. The President ptested he would not be partial; but, if one had any thing of him, euery man should have his portion according to their places. Neuertheless, that, vpon their warrants, he would deliuer what pleased them to demand. Yf the President had at that tyme enlarged the pportion according to their request, without doubt, in very short tyme, he had starued the whole company. He would not ioine w<sup>th</sup> them, therefore, in such ignorant murder without their own warrant.

The President, well seeing to what end their ympacience

would growe, desired them earnestly & often tymes to bestow the Presidentshipp amonge themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand. But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Ma<sup>tie</sup> good service in yt. In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieue us w<sup>th</sup> corne and fleshe, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare increased, he mended the comon pott: he had laid vp, besides, prouision for 3 weekes' wheate before hand.

By this tyme, the Councell had fully plotted to depose Wingfield, ther then President; and had drawne certeyne artycles in wrighting amongst themselues, and toke their oathes vpon the Evangelists to obserue them: th' effect whereof was, first,—

To depose the then President;

To make M<sup>r</sup> Ratcliffe <sup>4</sup> the next President;

Not to depose the one th' other;

Not to take the deposed President into Councell againe;

Not to take M<sup>r</sup> Archer into the Councell, or any other, w<sup>th</sup>out the consent of euery one of them. To theis they had subscribed; as out of their owne mouthes, at seuerall tymes, it was easily gathered. Thus had they forsaken his Ma<sup>ty</sup> governm<sup>t</sup>, sett vs downe in the instruccōns, & made it a Triumvirat.

It seemeth M<sup>r</sup> Archer was nothing acquainted w<sup>th</sup> theis artycles. Though all the rest crept out of his noats and comentaryes that were preferred against the President, yet

<sup>4</sup> John Ratcliffe was captain of the pinnace on the voyage from England, and one of the original Colonial Council. — See *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 3; *ante*, p. 80, note 8. He gave great dissatisfaction as President; which office he held one year, and was succeeded by Smith. He went to England soon after; but in May or June, 1609, set sail for Virginia as captain of one of the ships which accompanied Somers and Gates. He, with thirty or forty others, was slain by Powhatan in 1610. — See *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, pp. 93, 105. *Strackey*, in *Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1734.



it pleased God to cast him into the same disgrace and pitt that he prepared for another, as will appeare hereafter.

Septem. — The 10 of September, M<sup>r</sup> Ratcliff, M<sup>r</sup> Smyth,<sup>5</sup> and M<sup>r</sup> Martynnn, came to the President's tennt with a warrant, subscribed vnder their handes, to depose the President; sayeing they thought him very unworthy to be eyther P<sup>e</sup>sident or of the Councell, and therefore discharged him of bothe. He answered them, that they had eased him of a great deale of care and trouble; that, long since, hee had diuers tymes profered them the place at an easier rate; and, further, that the President ought to be remoued (as appeareth in his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s instrucōns for our government) by the greater number of xij voyces, Councillors;<sup>6</sup> that they were but three,<sup>7</sup> and therefore wished them to proceede advisedly. But they told him, if they did him wrong, they must answere it. Then said the deposed President, "I ame at your pleasure: dispose of me as you will, w<sup>th</sup>out further garboiles."

I will now write what followeth in my owne name, and giue the new President his title. I shall be the briefer being thus discharged. I was comytted to a Serieant, and sent to the pynnassee; but I was answered w<sup>th</sup>, "If they did me wronge, they must answere it."

The 11<sup>th</sup> of September, I was sent for to come before the President and Councell vpon their Court daie. They had now made M<sup>r</sup> Archer, Recorder of Virginia. The President made a speeche to the Collony, that he thought it fitt to acquaint them whie I was deposed. I ame now forced to

<sup>5</sup> Capt. John Smith, so famous in Virginia and New-England history.

<sup>6</sup> The Charter of Virginia provided for a Colonial Council of thirteen; and his Majesty's instructions and orders authorized the major part of said Council, upon any just cause, to remove the President or any other of the Council. — *Stith*, p. 37, and Appendix, p. 3. There seems to have been a departure from this rule, at the first, in the appointment of only *seven* councillors.

<sup>7</sup> Newport had sailed for England, Gosnold had died, Kendall had been deposed; and, setting aside Wingfield, there remained of the Council only the above-named three.



stuff my paper with frivolous trifles, that our graue and worthy Councill may the better strike those vaynes where the corrupt blood lyeth, and that they may see in what manner of governm<sup>t</sup> the hope of the Collony now travayleth.

Ffirst, Master President said that I had denyed him a penny whitle,<sup>8</sup> a chickyn, a spoonfull of beere, and serued him w<sup>th</sup> foule corne; and w<sup>th</sup> that pulled some graine out of a bagg, shewing it to the company.

Then start up M<sup>r</sup> Smyth, and said that I had told him playnly how he lied; and that I said, though we were equall heere, yet, if he were in England, he<sup>9</sup> would think scorne his man<sup>1</sup> should be my companyon.

M<sup>r</sup> Martyn followed w<sup>th</sup>, "He reporteth that I doe slack the service in the Collonye, and doe nothing but tend my pott, spitt, and oven; but he hath starued my sonne, and denyed him a spoonefull of beere. I haue freinds in England shal be revenged on him, if euer he come in London."

I asked M<sup>r</sup> President if I should answere theis compl<sup>ts</sup>, and whether he had ought els to charge me w<sup>th</sup>all. W<sup>th</sup> that he pulled out a paper booke, loaded full w<sup>th</sup> artycles against me, and gaue them M<sup>r</sup> Archer to reade.

I tould M<sup>r</sup> President and the Councill, that, by the instrucc<sup>ions</sup> for our governm<sup>t</sup>, our proceedings ought to be verball,<sup>2</sup> and I was there ready to answere; but they said they would proceede in that order. I desired a coppie of the articles, and tyme giuen me to answere them likewise by wrighting; but that would not be graunted. I badd them then please themselues. M<sup>r</sup> Archer then read some of the artycles; when, on the suddaine, M<sup>r</sup> President said, "Staie, staie! Wee know

<sup>8</sup> "Whittle," a small pocket-knife.

<sup>9</sup> Probably it should read "*I* would think scorn," &c.

<sup>1</sup> *Name?* See p. 100, lines 14 and 15.

<sup>2</sup> "These judicial proceedings should be made summarily and verbally, till they come to the judgment, or sentence, which should be briefly registered in a book kept for that purpose," &c. — See the king's instructions and orders in *Stith*, pp. 37-41.

not whether he will abide our Judgment, or whether he will appeale to the King;" sayeing to me, "How saie you: Will you appeale to the King, or no?" I apprehended presently that God's mercy had opened me a waie, through their ignorance, to escape their malice; for I never knew how I might demande an appeale: besides, I had secret knowledge how they had foreiudged me to paie fife fold for any thing that came to my handes, whereof I could not discharge myself by wrighting; and that I should lie in prison vntil I had paid it.

The Cape Marchant had deliured me our marchandize, w<sup>th</sup>out any noat of the perticularities, vnder my hand; for himself had receyued them in grosse. I likewise, as occasion moued me, spent them in trade or by giift amongst the Indians. So likewise did Captn. Newport take of them, when he went up to discover the King's river, what he thought good, w<sup>th</sup>out any noate of his hand mentioning the certainty; and disposed of them as was fitt for him. Of these, likewise, I could make no accompt; onely I was well assured I had neuer bestowed the valewe of three penny whittles to my own vse, nor to the private vse of any other; for I never carryed any favorite over w<sup>th</sup> me, or intertayned any thear. I was all one and one to all.

Vpon theis consideracons, I answered M<sup>r</sup> President and the Councell, that His Mat<sup>ys</sup> handes were full of mercy, and that I did appeale to His Ma<sup>ty</sup>s mercy. They then comytted me prisoner againe to the master of y<sup>e</sup> pynasse, w<sup>th</sup> theis words, "Looke to him well: he is now the King's prisoner."

Then M<sup>r</sup> Archer pulled out of his bosome another paper book full of artycles against me, desiring that he might reade them in the name of the Collony. I said I stood there ready to answere any man's complaintt whome I had wronged; but no one man spoke one word against me. Then was he willed to reade his booke, whereof I complayned; but I was still answered, "If they doe me wrong, they must answer it." I

have forgotten the most of the artycles, they were so slight (yet he glorieth much in his pennworke). I know well the last: and a speeche that he then made savoured well of a mutyny; for he desired that by no means I might lye prysoner in the towne, least boath he and others of the Collony should not giue such obedience to their comaund as they ought to doe: which goodly speech of his they easilye swallowed.

But it was vsuall and naturall to this honest gent., Mr Archer, to be allwayes hatching of some mutany in my tyme. Hee might haue appeered an author of 3 seuerall mutynies.

And hee (as Mr Pearsie<sup>3</sup> sent me worde) had bought some witnesses' handes against me to diuers artycles, w<sup>th</sup> Indian cakes (w<sup>ch</sup> was noe great matter to doe after my deposal, and considering their hungar), persuations, and threats. At another tyme, he feared not to saie openly, and in the presence of one of the Councill, that, if they had not deposed me when they did, he hadd gotten twenty others to himself w<sup>ch</sup> should haue deposed me. But this speech of his was likewise easily disiested.<sup>4</sup> Mr Crofts<sup>5</sup> feared not to saie, that, if others would ioyne w<sup>th</sup> him, he would pull me out of my seate, and out of my skynn too. Others would saie (whose names I spare), that, vnless I would amend their allowance, they would be their owne caruers. For these mutinus speeches I rebuked them openly, and proceeded no further against them, considering thein of men's liues in the King's service there. One of the

<sup>3</sup> "This was the Honorable Mr. George Percy, of the ancient family of the Percys so renowned in story, and brother to the Earl of Northumberland. Neither did his actions here disgrace the nobility of his birth; for he justly obtained the reputation of a gentleman of great honor, courage, and industry. He seems to have come merely a volunteer upon the expedition, and bore no post or office of government." — *Stith*, p. 45. Percy subsequently became temporary Governor of the Colony, of which he wrote an interesting account from its commencement. The early portion was printed by Purchas, and is referred to above.

<sup>4</sup> That is, *disjested*. *Disgest* was a very common form, in early writers, of the word we spell *digest*. — See Halliwell's "Archaic and Provincial Words."

<sup>5</sup> Richard Crofts, who is classed among the "gentlemen" in the list of the first planters. — *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 7.

Councell was very earnest w<sup>th</sup> me to take a guard aboute me. I answered him, I would no guard but God's love and my own innocencie. In all theis disorders was M<sup>r</sup> Archer a ring-leader.

When M<sup>r</sup> President and M<sup>r</sup> Archer had made an end of their artycles aboute mentioned, I was again sent prisoner to the pynasse; and M<sup>r</sup> Kendall, takeinge from thence, had his liberty, but might not carry armes.

All this while, the salvages brought to the towne such corn and fflsh as they could spare. Paspahighe, by Tapa-hanné's mediation, was taken into freindshipp with vs. The Councillors, M<sup>r</sup> Smyth especially, traded vp and downe the river w<sup>th</sup> the Indyans for corne; w<sup>ch</sup> releued the Collony well.<sup>6</sup>

As I understand by a report, I am much charged w<sup>th</sup> staruing the Collony. I did alwaies giue eury man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c., as was by the Counsell proportioned: neyther was it bettered after my tyme, untill, towards th' end of March, a bisket was allowed to eury workeing man for his breakefast, by means of the puision brought vs by Captn. Newport; as will appeare hereafter. It is further said, I did much banquit and ryot. I never had but one squirell roasted; whereof I gave part to M<sup>r</sup> Ratcliff, then sick: yet was that squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the comon pot was so used likewise. Yet how often M<sup>r</sup> President's and the Councillors' spitts haue night & daye bene endaungered to break their backs, — so laden w<sup>th</sup> swanns, geese, ducks, &c! how many times their flesh potts haue swelled, many hungry eies did behold, to their great longing; and what great theecues and theeuing thear hath been in the comon stoare since my tyme,

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<sup>6</sup> Smith appears to have been indefatigable in his efforts to serve the Colony at this time. An account of his various trading expeditions in search of corn will be found in the early tracts above cited.

I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Councell for Virginia.

The 17<sup>th</sup> daie of Septemb<sup>r</sup>, I was sent for to the Court to answere a complaint exhibited against me by Jehu Robinson;<sup>7</sup> for that, when I was President, I did saie, hee w<sup>th</sup> others had consented to run awaye with the shallop to Newfoundland. At an other tyme, I must answere M<sup>r</sup> Smyth for that I had said hee did conceal an intended mutany. I tould M<sup>r</sup> Recorder, those words would beare no actions; that one of the causes was done w<sup>th</sup>out the lymits menconed in the Patent graunted to vs; and therefore prayed M<sup>r</sup> President that I mought not be thus lugged with theis disgraces and troubles: but hee did weare no other eies or eares than grew on M<sup>r</sup> Archer's head.

The jury gaue the one of them 100<sup>li</sup> and the other two hundred pound damages for slaunder. Then M<sup>r</sup> Recorder did very learnedly comfort me, that, if I had wrong, I might bring my writ of error in London; whereat I smiled.

I, seeing their law so speedie and cheape, desired justice for a copper kettle w<sup>ch</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Crofte did deteyne from me. Hee said I had giuen it him. I did bid him bring his prooffe for that. Hee confessed he had no prooffe. Then M<sup>r</sup> President did aske me if I would be sworne I did not giue it him. I said I knew no cause whie to sweare for myne owne. He asked M<sup>r</sup> Crofts if hee would make oath I did give it him; w<sup>ch</sup> oathe he tooke, and wonn my kettle from me, that was in that place and tyme worth half his weight in gold. Yet I did understand afterwards that he would haue given John Capper the one half of the kettle to haue taken the oath for him; but hee would no copper on that price.

I tould M<sup>r</sup> President I had not known the like lawe, and prayed they would be more sparing of law vntill wee had more witt or wealthe; that lawes were good spies in a popu-

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<sup>7</sup> John Robinson is classed among the "gentlemen," in the list just referred to.



lous, peaceable, and plentifull country, whear they did make the good men better, & stayed the badd from being worse; y<sup>t</sup> wee weare so poore as they did but rob us of tyme that might be better employed in service in the Collonye.

The<sup>7</sup> . . . daie of<sup>7</sup> . . . the President did beat James Read, the Smyth.<sup>8</sup> The Smythe stroake him againe. For this he was condempned to be hanged; but, before he was turned of the lather, he desired to speak with the President in private, to whome he accused M<sup>r</sup> Kendall of a mutiny, and so escaped himself.<sup>9</sup> What indictment M<sup>r</sup> Recorder framed against the Smyth, I knowe not; but I knowe it is familiar for the President, Counsellors, and other officers, to beate men at their pleasures. One lyeth sick till death, another walketh lame, the third cryeth out of all his boanes; w<sup>ch</sup> myseryes they doe take vpon their consciences to come to them by this their almes of beating. Wear this whipping, lawing, beating, and hanging, in Virginia, knowne in England, I fear it would drine many well affected myndes from this hono<sup>ble</sup> action of Virginia.

This Smyth comyng aboard the pynasse w<sup>th</sup> some others, aboute some busines, 2 or 3 dayes before his arraignem<sup>t</sup>, brought me comendaçõs from M<sup>r</sup> Pearsye, M<sup>r</sup> Waller,<sup>1</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Kendall, and some others, saieing they would be glad to see me on shoare. I answered him, they were honest gent., and had carryed themselues very obediently to their goũnors. I prayed God that they did not think of any ill thing vnworthie themselues. I added further, that vpon Sundaie, if the weathiar were faire, I would be at the sermon. Lastly, I

<sup>7</sup> Blanks in the original manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> "James Read, Blacksmith." — *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> This account corresponds substantially with Smith in his *True Relation*, who says Kendall was tried by a jury. Studley, in *Smith's Virginia* (Appendix, p. 12), says that Kendall's crime had connection with a plot, formed in Smith's absence, to divert the course of the pinnace (which had been fitted up for a trading voyage), and "to go for England."

<sup>1</sup> "John Waler" is in the list of "gentlemen." — *Ibid.*, p. 7.



said that I was so sickly, starved, lame, and did lye so could and wett in the pynasse, as I would be dragged thithere before I would goe thither any more. Sundaie proued not faire: I went not to the sermon.

The<sup>2</sup> . . . daie of<sup>2</sup> . . ., M<sup>r</sup> Kendall was executed; being shott to death for a mutiny. In th' arrest of his judgm<sup>t</sup>, he alleaged to M<sup>r</sup> President y<sup>t</sup> his name was Sicklemore, not Ratcliff;<sup>3</sup> & so had no authority to p<sup>r</sup>ounce judgm<sup>t</sup>. Then M<sup>r</sup> Martyn p<sup>r</sup>ounced judgm<sup>t</sup>.

Somewhat before this tyme, the President and Councill had sent for the keyes of my coffers, supposing that I had some wrightings concerning the Collony. I requested that the Clarke of the Councill might see what they tooke out of my coffers; but they would not suffer him or any other. Vnder cullor heereof, they took my books of accompt, and all my noates that concerned the expences of the Collony, and instructions vnder the Cape-Marchant's hande of the stoare of prouision, diuers other bookes & trifles of my owne proper goods, w<sup>ch</sup> I could neuer recover. Thus was I made good prize on all sides.

The<sup>4</sup> . . . daie of<sup>4</sup> . . ., the President comanded me to come on shore; w<sup>ch</sup> I refused, as not rightfully deposed, and desired that I mought speake to him and the Councill in the p<sup>r</sup>sence of 10 of the best sorte of the gent. W<sup>th</sup> much intreaty, some of them wear sent for. Then I tould them I was determined to goe into England to acquaint our Councill there w<sup>th</sup> our weaknes. I said further, their lawes and governm<sup>t</sup> was such as I had no ioye to liue under them any longer; that I did much myslike their triumverat haueing forsaken his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s instruc<sup>t</sup>ions for our government, and there-

<sup>2</sup> Blanks in the original manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> "Ratcliffe, whose right name was Sicklemore."—*Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 93. His name appears in the second charter of Virginia as "Capt. John Sicklemore, alias Ratcliffe."—*Stith*, Appendix, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Blanks in the original manuscript.

fore praied there might be more made of the Councell. I said further, I desired not to go into England, if eyther M<sup>r</sup> President or M<sup>r</sup> Archer would goe, but was willing to take my fortune w<sup>th</sup> the Collony; and did also proffer to furnish them w<sup>th</sup> 100<sup>ti</sup> towards the fetching home the Collonye, if the action was given ouer. They did like of none of my proffers, but made diuers shott att mee in the pynnasse. I, seeing their resoluçõs, went ashoare to them; whear, after I had staid a while in conference, they sent me to the pynnasse againe.

Decem.—The 10<sup>th</sup> of December, M<sup>r</sup> Smyth went vp the ryuer of the Chechohomynies<sup>5</sup> to trade for corne. He was desirous to see the heade of that riuier; and, when it was not passible w<sup>th</sup> the shallop, he hired a cannow and an Indian to carry him vp further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then hee went on shoare w<sup>th</sup> his guide, and left Robinson & Emmery,<sup>6</sup> twoe of our Men, in the cannow; w<sup>ch</sup> were presently slayne by the Indians, Pamaonke's men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and, by the means of his guide, his lief was saved; and Pamaonché, haueing him prisoner, carryed him to his neybons wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those w<sup>ch</sup> had bene, some twoe or three yeeres before vs, in a river amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great Powaton (of whome before wee had no knowledg),<sup>7</sup> who sent him home to our towne the viij<sup>th</sup> of January.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This river empties into the James River on the north side, a few miles above Jamestown.

<sup>6</sup> John Robinson is in the list of "gentlemen," and "Tho. Emry" is in the list of "carpenters." — See *Smith*, as above.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> It was while on this expedition, as we are told in one of the later publications of Smith, that his life, which was threatened by Powhatan, was saved by his daughter Pocahontas, just as he was about to suffer. The story is an interesting and romantic one. But the critical reader of the accounts of Smith's adventures in Virginia will be struck with the fact, that no mention whatever is made of this incident in his minute

During M<sup>r</sup> Smythe's absence, the President did swear M<sup>r</sup> Archer one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the arteyles agreed vpon betweene themselues (before spoken of), and contrary to the King's instruccōns, and w<sup>th</sup>out M<sup>r</sup>

personal narrative covering this period, written at the time, on the spot, and published in 1608; nor in the narrative of his companions, in the appendix to the tract of 1612; in neither of which is any attempt made to conceal his valiant exploits and hair-breadth escapes. In his "New England's Trials" (1622) is a brief incidental allusion, in an ambiguous form, to his having been "delivered" by Pocahontas, when taken prisoner. But the current story first appears in the "Generall Historie," first published in 1624. This book is compiled chiefly from earlier publications of his own and others; and what relates to Virginia, for this early period, is taken for the most part from the tract of 1612; though there is an occasional variation in the text, and incidents related in the tract of 1608 are sometimes introduced. In the tract last named, written by Smith himself on the spot, it does not appear that he considered his life at all in danger while he was a guest or prisoner of Powhatan. The hazards which he had run when he was first surprised by the Indians, and while in the hands of the King of Pamaunkey — who took him prisoner after the slaughter of his only two companions — and of the other minor chiefs, were ended. The whole bearing of the emperor towards him from the first, far from being hostile or even unfriendly, was in every respect kind and hospitable. The emperor, says Smith, "kindly received me with good words, and great platters of sundry victuals; assuring me of his friendship, and my liberty in four days." A conversation then ensued between them, which evidently resulted in inspiring mutual confidence. The savage was curious to know what brought Smith into the country, and appeared satisfied with the answers he received, which were far from the truth. He informed Smith as to the extent of his dominions, the character of the neighboring tribes, &c.; and his guest "requited his discourse" by "describing to him the territories of Europe which were subject to our great king, . . . the innumerable multitude of ships, . . . the terrible manner of fighting" under Capt. Newport, whose "greatness he admired, and not a little feared. He desired me to forsake Paspahugh, and to live with him upon his river. . . . And thus having, with all the kindness he could devise, sought to content me, he sent me home with four men, — one that usually carried my gown and knapsack after me, two others loaded with bread, and one to accompany me." This simple story of Smith's interview with Powhatan, — here considerably abridged, — in which the name of the Indian child Pocahontas is not even mentioned, shows quite a different treatment from what is indicated in the following passage, subsequently interpolated in the most abrupt and awkward manner into the account in the "Generall Historie." After describing the stately appearance of Powhatan in the midst of his courtiers and women, somewhat as in the former account, the latter narrative proceeds to say, that, on Smith's entrance before the king, the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was deputed to bring him water to wash his hands; and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Then, "having feasted him after the best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held; but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head; and, being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty

Martyn's consent; whereas there weare no more but the President and M<sup>r</sup> Martyn then of the Councell.

M<sup>r</sup> Archer, being settled in his authority, sought how to call M<sup>r</sup> Smyth's lief in question, and had indited him vpon a

could prevail, got her head in his arms, and laid her own upon his, to save him from death: whereat the emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets; and her, bells, beads," &c. After some days, the emperor came to him, and told him they now were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown; where, with twelve guides, he soon sent him.

No one can doubt that the earlier narrative contains the truer statement, and that the passage last cited is one of the few or many embellishments with which Smith, with his strong love of the marvellous, was disposed to garnish the stories of his early adventures, and with which he or his editors were tempted to adorn particularly his later works. The name of Pocahontas, afterwards the "Lady Rebecca," had become somewhat famous in the annals of Virginia, since the time Smith knew her there at the age of thirteen or fourteen, when he left the Colony for England. From her position, she had been the means of rendering the Colony some service. Through her, an influence for good had been acquired over Powhatan. As the daughter of an emperor, — possessing, as is said, some personal attractions, and the first convert of her tribe to Christianity, — she had been, on her visit to England with her husband, John Rolfe, in 1616, an object of much curiosity and attention. The temptation, therefore, to bring her on the stage as a heroine in a new character in connection with Smith, always the hero of his chronicles, — and who, in his early adventures in the East, as he subsequently claimed, had inspired the gentle Tragabigzanda with the tenderest emotions towards him, — appears to have been too great for him to withstand, and was not to be resisted by those interested in getting up the "Generall Historie;" and therefore, in reproducing the account of his imprisonment, this story — the substance of which Smith appears to have intimated to her majesty Queen Anne, in general terms, while the "Lady Rebecca" was in England ("Generall Historie," p. 121) — is introduced for the first time into the narrative of this portion of his adventures.

It should be borne in mind, that Smith makes no claim to have been taken prisoner more than once by the Indians, during his residence of two years and a half in Virginia. All his adventures during this period are related in detail, and there was but one occasion on which the service claimed to have been rendered by Pocahontas could have been performed. This marvellous story finds no proper place in any other adventure; and the introduction of it into the narrative in the "Generall Historie" is equivalent to setting aside the whole of the earlier account, so far as relates to the manner of his reception and his whole treatment by Powhatan, when brought before him a prisoner.

In its connection with this subject, the passage in the text of Wingfield, at this place, becomes especially significant, as giving the main features of Smith's imprisonment as they were understood at Jamestown at the time, and, of course, as told by Smith himself. According to this, as we have seen, his life was imperilled only at the time of his first falling into the hands of the Indians, — "Panaunkey's men;" and he was saved by his Indian guide. The passage is silent as to Pocahontas; and the name of Powhatan is introduced only in connection with the fact, that, when Smith was brought before him a prisoner, he sent the captive home to Jamestown.



chapter in Leuiticus for the death of his twoe men.<sup>9</sup> He had had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the same or the next daie, so speedie is our lawe there. But it pleased God to send Captn. Newport vnto us the same evening, to o<sup>r</sup> vnspeakable comfort; whose arrivall saued M<sup>r</sup> Smyth's leif and mine, because hee took me out of the pynnassee, and gaue me leave to lye in the towne. Also by his comyng was p<sup>r</sup>vented a parliamt,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> newe Counsaillor, M<sup>r</sup> Recorder, intended thear to summon. Thus error begot error.

Captayne Newport, haueing landed, lodged, and refreshed his men, ympleied some of them about a faire stoare house, others about a stove, and his maryners aboute a church;<sup>2</sup> all w<sup>ch</sup> workes they finished cherefully and in short tyme.

To those familiar with Secretary Hamor's rare tract on Virginia, published in 1615, which is largely devoted to Pocahontas, his silence will be deemed equally significant.

Without designing to impeach the general trustworthiness of Smith's original narrations, and with no disposition to detract from the "Generall Historie" (a large part of which is compiled from writings of others) and the "True Travels," to the extent implied in Burk's designation of the former as an "epic history or romance" (see Burk's History of Virginia, preface), it must be admitted that the tendency to exaggeration and over-statement in his later publications is evident. Referring to what has already been said, it would be curious to trace other variations in the two accounts of Smith's imprisonment especially referred to,—in the "True Relation" and in the "Generall Historie." But this note is already too much extended. An admirable analysis of Smith's "Generall History" and "True Travels" may be found in Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. pp. 89-93.

<sup>9</sup> "Some, no better than they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day, to have put him to death by the Levitical law, for the lives of Robinson and Emry; pretending the fault was his," &c. — *Smith's Generall Historie*, p. 49. Smith, probably, was to be tried by the spirit of the law laid down in Lev. xxiv. 19-21.

<sup>1</sup> If, by a parliament, is here intended the whole body of colonists or their representatives, it is certain that no authority for summoning such an assembly was vested in the Council or Colony. — *Stith*, pp. 37-41.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative, in the Appendix to Smith, complains that the mariners spent much time hunting for gold; kept the ship long in the country (fourteen weeks), consuming their food, "that the mariners might say they built such a golden church, that we can say the rain washed to near nothing in fourteen days."

Smith thus describes "what churches we had, order of service," &c., when he first went to Virginia: "When I went first to Virginia, I well remember, we did hang an awning (which is an old sail) to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun. Our walls were rails of wood; our seats, unhewed trees, till we cut planks; our pulpit, a

January. — The 7 of January,<sup>3</sup> our towne was almost quite burnt,<sup>4</sup> with all our apparell and prouision;<sup>5</sup> but Captn. Newport healed our wants, to our great comforts, out of the great plenty sent vs by the prouident and loving care of our worthe and most worthie Councell.

bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foul weather, we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better; and this came by the way of adventure for new. This was our church, till we built a homely thing like a barn, set upon cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part far much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain. Yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy Communion, till our minister [Mr. Hunt, the date of whose death is uncertain] died; but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundays, we continued two or three years after, till more preachers came. And surely God did most mercifully hear us, till the continual inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines, near consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness." — *Smith's* "Advertisements," &c., London, 1631, pp. 32, 33.

<sup>3</sup> According to the dates in the text, this fire took place the day before the arrival of Newport; but Smith says, "Within five or six days after the arrival of the ship, by a mischance our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparel, lodging, and private provision. Many of our old men diseased; and [many] of our new, for want of lodging, perished." — *True Relation*. The inference from the account in the Appendix to Smith's Virginia is clear, that Newport had arrived some time before the fire took place. If the ship remained at Jamestown "fourteen weeks," as is stated in the tract last named, — sailing for England, April 10, — it would show that she arrived some days earlier than the date given in the text. Smith and Wingfield agree as to the arrival of Newport on the evening of the day of the former's return from his captivity among the Indians.

<sup>4</sup> "The houses first raised were all burnt, by a casualty of fire, the beginning of the second year of their seat, and in the second voyage of Capt. Newport; which since have been better rebuilt, though as yet in no great uniformity either for the fashion or beauty of the street. A delicate-wrought, fine kind of mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for or snatched up) our people do dress their chambers and inward rooms; which make their houses so much the more handsome. The houses have wide and large country chimneys, in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are maintained: and they have found the way to cover their houses now (as the Indians) with the barks of trees, as durable, and as good proof against storms and winter weather, as the best tyle; defending likewise the piercing sunbeams of summer, and keeping the inner lodgings cool enough, which before, in sultry weather, would be like stoves, whilst they were, as at first, pargetted and plastered with bitumen or tough clay. And, thus armed for the injury of changing times and seasons of the year, we hold ourselves well apaid, though wanting arras hangings, tapestry, and gilded Venetian cordovan, or more spruce household garniture and wanton city ornaments." — *Strachey*, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1753.

<sup>5</sup> "Good Mr. Hunt, our preacher, lost all his library, and all that he had but the clothes on his back; yet none ever saw him repine. This happened in the winter of that extreme frost, 1607." — *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 20.



This vigilant Captayne, slacking no oportunity that might aduance the prosperity of the Collony, haueing settled the company vppon the former workes, took M<sup>r</sup> Smyth and M<sup>r</sup> Scrivenor<sup>6</sup> (another Councillor of Virginia, vpon whose discretion liveth a great hope of the action), went to discover the River Pamaonche, on the further side whearof dwelleth the Great Powaton, and to trade w<sup>th</sup> him for corne. This River lieth North from vs, and runneth East and West. I haue nothing but by relation of that matter, and therefore dare not make any discourse thereof, lest I mought wrong the great desart w<sup>ch</sup> Captn. Newport's loue to the action hath deserued; espially himself being present, and best able to giue satisfac<sup>o</sup>n thereof. I will hasten, therefore, to his retorne.

March. — The 9<sup>th</sup> of March, he returned to James Towne w<sup>th</sup> his pynasse well loaden w<sup>th</sup> corne, wheat, beanes, and pease, to our great comfort & his worthi comenda<sup>o</sup>ns.<sup>7</sup>

By this tyme, the Counsell & Captayne, haueing intently looked into the carryadge both of the Councillors and other officers, remoued some officers out of the stoare, and Captn. Archer, a Councillor whose insolency did looke vpon that litle himself w<sup>th</sup> great sighted spectacles, derogating from others' merri<sup>t</sup>s by spueing out his venemous libells and infamous chronicles vpon them, as doth appeare in his owne hand wrighting; ffor w<sup>ch</sup>, and other worse tricks, he had not escaped y<sup>e</sup> halter, but that Captn. Newport interposed his advice to the contrary.

Captayne Newport, haueing now dispatched all his busines<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Scrivenor, one of the second supply with Newport. He, with ten others, was drowned in a skiff, within a year from this time. — *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> A minute account of this trading expedition, during which Capt. Newport for the first time had an interview with the "great Powhatan," and from which the forty who embarked on it returned with two or three hundred bushels of corn, may be seen in the "True Relation," and a more brief account in the Appendix to Smith's Virginia.

<sup>8</sup> Newport, being warmly seconded by Capt. Martin, though against the advice of Smith, loaded the ship home with "gilded dirt," supposing it to be gold-dust. — *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

and set the clocke in a true course (if so the Councell will keep it), prepared himself for England vpon the x<sup>th</sup> of Aprill,<sup>9</sup> and arryued at Blackwall on Sunday, the xxj<sup>th</sup> of Maye, 1608.

#### FINIS.

I humbly craue some patience to answere many scandalus imputacōns w<sup>ch</sup> malice, more than malice, hath scattered vpon my name, and those frivolous three names obiected against me by the President and Councell; and though nil conscire sibi be the onely maske that can well couer my blushes, yett doe I not doubt but this my appologie shall easily wipe them awaie.

It is noised that I combyned w<sup>th</sup> the Spanniards to the distrucōn of the Collony; That I ame an atheist, because I carryed not a Bible w<sup>th</sup> me, and because I did forbid the preacher to preache; that I affected a kingdome; That I did hide of the comon prouision in the ground.

I confesse I haue alwayes admyred any noble vertue & prowesse, as well in the Spanniards (as in other nations); but naturally I haue alwayes distrusted and disliked their neighborhoode. I sorted many bookes in my house, to be sent vp to me at my goeing to Virginia; amongst them a Bible. They were sent me vp in a trunk to London, w<sup>th</sup> diuers fruite, conserues, & p<sup>e</sup>serues, w<sup>ch</sup> I did sett in M<sup>r</sup> Crofts his house in Ratcliff.<sup>1</sup> In my beeing at Virginia, I did vnderstand my trunk was thear broken vp, much lost, my sweetmeates eaten at his table, some of my bookes w<sup>ch</sup> I missed to be seene in

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<sup>9</sup> "He set sail for England the tenth of April. Master Scrivener and myself, with our shallop, accompanied him to Cape Hendrick." — *True Relation*. Wingfield, the author of this narrative, and Archer, returned home at this time with Capt. Newport. Archer came back to Virginia the next year, as master of one of the ships — in company with Gates and Somers — which left England in May or June, 1609. — See *Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, pp. 22, 93; *Strachey*, in *Purchas*, vol. iv. p. 1734.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the hamlet of Ratcliffe, which is in the southern division of the parish of Stepney, about one mile from London. — See *Lyson's Environs of London*, vol. ii. pp. 712–15.

his hands; and whether amongst them my Bible was so ymbeasiled or mislayed by my seruants, and not sent me, I knowe not as yet.

Two or three Sundayes mornings, the Indians gave vs allarums at our towne. By that tymes they weare answered, the place about us well discovered, and our devyne service ended, the daie was farr spent. The preacher did aske me if it were my pleasure to haue a sermon: hee said hee was prepared for it. I made answeare, that our men were weary and hungry, and that he did see the time of the daie farr past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but, the service finished, he began his sermon); & that, if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by wrighting out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, vnless some raynie day hindred my indeauo<sup>r</sup>. My mynde never swelled with such ympossible mountebank humors as could make me affect any other kingdome then the kingdom of heaven.

As truly as God liueth, I gave an ould man, then the keeper of the private stoure, 2 glasses w<sup>th</sup> sallet oyle w<sup>ch</sup> I brought w<sup>th</sup> me out of England for my private stoare, and willed him to bury it in the ground, for that I feared the great heate would spoile it. Whatsoeuer was more, I did never consent vnto or knewe of it; and as truly was it protested vnto me, that all the remaynder before mençoned of the oyle, wyne, &c, w<sup>ch</sup> the President receyued of me when I was deposed, they themselues poored into their owne bellies.

To the President's and Councill's obiections I saie, that I doe knowe curtesey and civility became a governor. No penny whitle was asked me, but a kniffe, whereof I had none to spare. The Indyans had long before stoallen my knife. Of chickins I never did eat but one, and that in my sicknes. Mr Ratcliff had before that time tasted of 4 or 5. I had by my owne huswiferie bred aboue 37, and the most part of them of my owne poultrye; of all w<sup>ch</sup>, at my comyng awaie, I did

not see three liueing. I never denyed him (or any other) beare, when I had it. The corne was of the same w<sup>ch</sup> wee all liued vpon.

M<sup>r</sup> Smyth, in the tyme of our hungar, had spread a rumor in the Collony, that I did feast myself and my seruants out of the comon stoare, w<sup>th</sup> entent (as I gathered) to haue stirred the discontented company against me. I tould him privately, in M<sup>r</sup> Gosnold's tent, that indeede I had caused half a pint of pease to be sodden w<sup>th</sup> a peese of pork, of my own prouision, for a poore old man, w<sup>ch</sup> in a sicknes (whereof he died) he much desired; and said, that if out of his malice he had given it out otherwise, that hee did tell a leye. It was proued to his face that he begged in Ireland, like a rogue, w<sup>th</sup>out a lycence. To such I would not my name should be a companyon.

M<sup>r</sup> Martin's payns, during my comaund, never stirred out of our towne tenn scoare; and how slack hee was in his watching and other duties, it is too well knowne. I never defrauded his sonne of any thing of his own allowance, but gaue him aboue it. I believe their disdainefull vsage and threats, which they many tymes gaue me, would have pulled some distempered speeches out of fare greater pacyence than myne. Yet shall not any revenging humor in me befoule my penn w<sup>th</sup> their base names and liues here and there. I did visit M<sup>r</sup> Pearsie, M<sup>r</sup> Hunt, M<sup>r</sup> Brewster, M<sup>r</sup> Pickasse, M<sup>r</sup> Allicock, ould Short the bricklayer,<sup>2</sup> and diuerse others, at seuerall tymes. I never miskalled at a gent. at any tyme.

Concerning my deposing from my place, I can well proue that M<sup>r</sup> Ratcliff said, if I had vsed him well in his sicknes

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<sup>2</sup> The name of "Mr. Robert Hunt, Preacher," is in the list of first planters. — See page 102. "William Bruster, gentleman," died Aug. 10, 1607, "of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day." "Dru Pickhouse" was one of the first planters. "The nineteenth day [of August] died Drue Piggase, gentleman." "The fourteenth day [of August], Jerome Alikock, Ancient, died of a wound." — *Percy*, in *Purchas*, as above. "Old Short's" name is not among the first planters. The list is not complete.

(wherein I find not myself guilty of the contrary), I had never bene deposed.

M<sup>r</sup> Smyth said, if it had not bene for M<sup>r</sup> Archer, I hadd never bene deposed. Since his being here in the towne, he hath said that he tould the President and Councell that they were frivolous obiections they had collected against me, and that they had not done well to depose me. Yet, in my conscience, I doe believe him the first & onely practizer in theis practisses. M<sup>r</sup> Archer's quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choice of the place for our plantation; because I misliked his leying out of our towne, in the pinnasse; because I would not sware him of the Councell for Virginia, w<sup>ch</sup> neyther I could doe or he deserve.

M<sup>r</sup> Smyth's quarrell, because his name was mençoned in the entended & confessed mutiny by Galthropp.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Wootton, the surieon, because I would not subscribe to a warrant (w<sup>ch</sup> he had gotten drawne) to the Treasurer of Virginia, to deliuer him money to furnish him w<sup>th</sup> druggs and other necessaryes; & because I disallowed his living in the pinnasse, haueing many of o<sup>r</sup> men lyeing sick & wounded in o<sup>r</sup> towne, to whose dressings by that meanes he slacked his attendance.

Of the same men, also, Captn. Gosnold gaue me warning, misliking much their dispositions, and assured me they would lay hold of me if they could; and peradventure many, because I held them to watching, warding, and workeing; and the Collony generally, because I would not giue my consent to starue them. I cannot rack one word or thought from myself, touching my carryadg in Virginia, other than is herein set down.

If I may now, at the last, p<sup>e</sup>sume vpon yo<sup>r</sup> favours, I am an hble suitor that your owne loue of truth will vouchsafe to releave me from all false aspertions happining since I em-

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<sup>3</sup> "Stephen Galthrope" died the fifteenth day of August, 1607. — *Ibid.*



barked me into this affaire of Virginia. For my first worke (w<sup>ch</sup> was to make a right choice of a spirituall pastor),<sup>4</sup> I appeale to the remembraunce of my Lo. of Caunt: his grace, who gaue me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took w<sup>th</sup> me: truly, in my opinion, a man not any waie to be touched w<sup>th</sup> the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished w<sup>th</sup> ye least suspition of a factius scismatick, whereof I had a spiall care. For other obiections, if yo<sup>r</sup> worthie selues be pleased to set me free, I haue learned to despise y<sup>e</sup> populer verdict of y<sup>e</sup> vulgar. I ever chered up myself w<sup>th</sup> a confidence in y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of graue, iudicious senato<sup>rs</sup>; & was never dismayed, in all my service, by any synister event: though I bethought me of y<sup>e</sup> hard beginnings, w<sup>ch</sup>, in former ages, betided those worthy spirits that planted the greatest monarchies in Asia & Europe; wherein I obserued rather y<sup>e</sup> troubles of Moses & Aron, with other of like history, then that venom in the mutinous brood of Cadmus, or that harmony in y<sup>e</sup> swete consent of Amphion. And when, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> former, I had considered that even the betheren, at their plantaçõn of the Romaine Empire, were not free from mortall hatred & intestine garboile, likewise

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<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hunt, the preacher, is here referred to.

"On the 19th of December, 1606, we set sail; but, by unprosperous winds, were kept six weeks in the sight of England: all which time, Mr. Hunt, our Preacher, was so weak and sick, that few expected his recovery. Yet, although he were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downs), and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few little better than Atheists, of the greatest rank among us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business," &c.—*Smith's Virginia*, Appendix, p. 2.

"It is evident [from the above] that Robert Hunt's habitation must have been in Kent; and I find, in Hasted's History of Kent (vol. iii. p. 640), that Robert Hunt, A.M., was appointed to the vicarage of Reculver, Jan. 18, 1594; and that he resigned it in 1602. I cannot find, in the list of the Kentish Clergy at that time, any other Mr. Hunt who bore the same Christian name; and, coupling the date of the resignation above stated with the period at which the first pastor of the English Colony must have been contemplating his departure to America, I think it most probable that he was the Vicar of Reculver."—*Anderson's History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, vol. i. pp. 169, 170.



that both y<sup>e</sup> Spanish & English records are guilty of like factions, it made me more vigilant in the avoyding thereof: and I ptest, my greatest contençon was to p<sup>e</sup>vent contençon, and my chiefest endeavour to p<sup>e</sup>serue the liues of others, though w<sup>th</sup> great hazard of my own; for I neuer desired to enamell my name w<sup>th</sup> bloude. I reioice that my trauells & daungers haue done somewhat for the behoof of Jerusalem in Virginia. If it be obiected as my ouersight to put my self amongst such men, I can saie for myself, thear wear not any other for o<sup>r</sup> consort; & I could not forsake y<sup>e</sup> enterprise of opening so glorious a kingdom vnto y<sup>e</sup> King, wherein I shall ever be most ready to bestow y<sup>e</sup> poore remainder of my dayes, as in any other his heighnes' dissignes, according to my bounden duty, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> vtmost of my poore tallent.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> In the "Visitation of the County of Huntington, under the authority of William Camden," in 1613, I find an Edward Maria Wingfield (without doubt, our author) then living, unmarried, "of Stonley Priorye in comit. Hunt. jam superstes, 1613." He belonged to a distinguished family. His father was "Thomas Maria Wingfeild, who was christened by Queene Mary and Cardinall Poole." His grandfather was "S<sup>r</sup> Rich' Wingfeild of Kimbolton Castle, in Hunt., k., 12<sup>th</sup> sonne of S<sup>r</sup> John Wingfeild of Letheringham, k., and of his wiffe Elizab. Fitz-Lewis; was Chancellor of the Duchie of Lanc.; Lord-Deputy of Callis; and made K. of the Garter by Henr. 8. His 1 wiffe was Katherine, Dutchess of Bedford and Buckingham; . . . by whom S<sup>r</sup> Rich' had no issue: 2<sup>d</sup>ly, he married Bridgett, da. and heire of S<sup>r</sup> John Wilshire, and had all his children by her. He is buried at Toledo in Spayne."



# NEW-ENGLAND'S RARITIES

DISCOVERED:

BY

JOHN JOSSELYN, GENT.

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With an Introduction and Notes,

BY EDWARD TUCKERMAN, A.M.,

PROF. OF BOTANY IN AMHERST COLL.; MEMBER OF AM. ANTIQ. SOC.; AM. ACAD. OF ARTS  
AND SCIENCES; IMP. LEOP. CAROL. ACAD. OF NATURALISTS, &c.



## INTRODUCTION.

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MR. JOHN JOSSELYN, the writer of this book, was only brother, as he says, to Henry Josselyn, Esq., many years of Black Point in Scarborough, Me.; and both were sons to Sir Thomas Josselyn, Knt., of Kent, whose name is at the head of the new charter obtained by Sir Ferdinando Gorges for his Province in 1639, but who did not come to this country. Mr. Henry Josselyn was at Piscataqua, in the interest of Capt. John Mason, at least as early as 1634; but, in 1636, he is one of the Council of Gorges's Province in Maine, and continued in that part of the country the rest of his life. He succeeded in 1643, by the will of Capt. Thomas Cammock, to his patent at Black Point, and soon after married his widow. He is afterwards Deputy-Governor of the Province; and until 1676, when the Indians attacked and compelled him to surrender his fort, he was, says Mr. Willis, — whose valuable papers are cited below, — one of the most active and influential men in it;” holding, “during all the changes of proprietorship and government, the most important offices.” He is then a magistrate of the Duke of York's Province of Cornwall, and, as late as 1680, a resident of Pemaquid; when he is spoken of, in a letter of

Gov. Andros to the commander of the fort at Pemaquid, as one "whom I would have you use with all fitting respect, considering what he hath been and his age." He is living in 1682; but had died before the 10th of May, 1683,<sup>1</sup> leaving no descendants.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the evidence, above afforded, of the social position of the family of which Henry and John Josselyn were members, the present writer failed in tracing it, doubtless from not knowing in which county it had its principal seat. In this uncertainty, it occurred to him to make application to the eminent English antiquary, — the Rev. Joseph Hunter, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, — to whom he was indebted for former kind attentions; and was favored by this gentleman with such directions as left nothing to be desired. "The Josselines," writes Mr. Hunter ("the name is written in some variety of orthographies, and now more usually Joceline), are quite one of the old aristocratic families of England, having several knights in the early generations; being admitted into the order of baronets, and subsequently into the peerage. . . . Their main settlement was in Hertfordshire, at or near the town of Sabridgeworth; and accounts of them may be read in the histories — of which Chauncy's, Salmon's, and Clutterbuck's are the chief — of that county. But a fuller and better account is to

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<sup>1</sup> Willis, in *N. E. Geneal. Register*, vol. ii. p. 204; and *New Series of the same*, vol. i. p. 31. Williamson, *Hist. of Maine*, vol. i. p. 682.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. T. W. Harris, in *N. E. Geneal. Register*, vol. ii. p. 306, has corrected the mistake of Williamson and other writers as to Henry Josselyn of Scituate's being of kin to Mr. Josselyn of Black Point; and Mr. Willis, who had adopted the same error in his first paper, already cited, now admits, in his second, that there is not "any evidence that" the proprietor of Black Point "left any children, or ever had any."



be found in the 'Peerage of Ireland,' by Mr. Lodge, keeper of the records in the Birmingham Tower, Dublin; 4 vols. 8vo, 1754."<sup>3</sup>

According to Lodge, the family begins with a Sir Egidius, who passed into England in the time of Edward the Confessor, and was descended from "Carolus Magnus, King of France, with more certainty than the houses of Lorraine and Guise." Of this Sir Egidius was Sir Gilbert de Jocelyn, who accompanied the Conqueror, and had Gilbert — called St. Gilbert, being canonized by Pope Innocent III. in 1202 — and Geoffry. To this Geoffry is traced back John Jocelyn, living in 1226; who married Catherine, second daughter and coheir to Sir Thomas Battell, and had Thomas, who married Maud, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Hide, of Hide Hall in Sabridgeworth, county of Hertford, Knt., by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Sudeley, Baron Sudeley, in the county of Gloucester. He had Thomas Jocelyn, Esq., who married Joan, daughter of John Blunt, and had Ralph, who married Maud, daughter of Sir John Sutton *alias* Dudley, and had Geoffry of Hide Hall, 1312. Geoffry married Margaret, daughter of Robert Rokell or Rochill, and had Ralph, who married Margaret, daughter and heir to John Patmer, Esq., and had Geoffry (died 1425), who married Catherine, daughter and heir to Sir Thomas Bray, and had four sons and two daughters. Of these, the eldest was Thomas Jocelyn, Esq., living in the reign of Edward IV., who married Alice, daughter of Lewis Duke, of

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<sup>3</sup> Letter of Rev. J. Hunter, 12th April, 1859.

Dukes in Essex, Esq., by his wife Anne, daughter of John Cotton, Esq., and had issue George, his heir, called Jocelyn the Courtier, who married Maud, daughter and heir to Edmond Bardolph, — Lord Bardolph, — and had one daughter and three sons. John Jocelyn, Esq., — “auditor of the augmentations, upon the dissolution of the abbeys by King Henry VIII.,” — was son and heir to the last-mentioned George, and married Philippa, daughter of William Bradbury, of Littlebury in Essex; by whom he had Sir Thomas, of Hide Hall, — created a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Edward VI., — who married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Geoffry Gales or Gates, Knt., and had issue;<sup>4</sup> one daughter marrying Roger Harlakenden, of Carnarthen in Kent, Esq.; and the fifth son being Henry Jocelyn, Esq., who married Anne, daughter and heir to Humphrey Torrell, otherwise Tyrrell, of Torrell’s Hall in Essex, — became seated there, and had six sons and six daughters. The second son of this family was Sir Thomas Jocelyn (father to our author), who was twice married. His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of John Frank, Esq.; by whom he had six sons and five daughters, — Torrell, born 28th May, 1690; Henry, and Henry, both died infants; Thomas, who died without issue, in 1635, at Bergen op Zoom; Edward, who, by a lady of Georgia, had a daughter Dorothy, and died at Smyrna in 1648; Benjamin, born 19th May, 1602; Anne, married to William Mildmay, Esq., by whom she had Rob-

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<sup>4</sup> See also a Pedigree of Joselyne from the Visitation of Hertfordshire in 1614, furnished by Mr. S. G. Drake to the New-England Genealogical Register, vol. xiv. p. 16. This is probably one of the sources from which Lodge’s account was derived.

ert, John, Anne, and Elizabeth; Dorothy, married to John Brewster, Esq., and left no issue; Elizabeth, married to Francis Neile, Esq., and had Francis, John, and Mary; Frances, born 26th March, 1600, and married Rev. Clement Vincent; and Mary, died unmarried. The second wife of Sir Thomas Jocelyn was Theodora, daughter to Edmond Cooke, of Mount Maschall in Kent, Esq.; and by her he had Henry, John, Theodora, and Thomazine. Torrell, the eldest son, married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Brooke of Cheshire, — heir to her grandfather (by the mother), Dr. Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln, — by whom he had a daughter, Theodora, married to Samuel Fortrie, Esq.,<sup>5</sup> to whom our author dedicates the present volume, with acknowledgment of the “bounty” of his “honored friend and kinsman.”

The principal line of the family was continued by Richard, heir to Sir Thomas of Hide Hall; the said Richard being brother to our author, John Josselyn's grandfather. In 1665, Sir Robert Jocelyn of Hide Hall was advanced to the dignity of baronet. The fifth son of this Sir Robert was Thomas; whose son, Robert Jocelyn, Esq., was bred to the law; was Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; and created, in 1743, Baron Newport of Newport, and Viscount Jocelyn in 1755. Robert, son and successor of this nobleman, was created, in 1771, Earl of Roden, of High Roding, County of Tipperary; and was ancestor to the present Lord Roden.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 65, and *ante*.

<sup>6</sup> Lodge, *ubi supra*. Annual Register, 1771, p. 174.

Our author, John Josselyn, made his first voyage to New England in 1638; arriving in Boston Harbor the 3d of July, and remaining with his brother at Black Point till the 10th of October of the following year. While at Boston, he paid his respects to the Governor and to Mr. Cotton, being the bearer to the latter of some poetical pieces from the poet Quarles; and, as he says, "being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with." In the account of his first voyage, there is no appearance of that dislike to the Massachusetts government and people which is observable in the narrative of the second, and may there not unfairly be connected with his brother's political and religious differences with Massachusetts.<sup>7</sup> His second voyage was made in 1663. He arrived at Nantasket the 27th of July, and soon proceeded to his brother's plantation, where he tells us he staid eight years, and got together the matter of the book before us. This was first printed in 1672, but occurs also with later dates. It was followed, in 1674, by "An Account of Two Voyages to New England;

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<sup>7</sup> But there is no doubt that the author was himself as far from sharing in the serious English thought of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay as he was from joining in their evangelical faith. Yet there is hardly more than one place in either of his books (*Voyages*, pp. 180-2) where this is offensively brought forward. It is worthy of remark, however, that Josselyn's family, in England, was attached rather to the Puritan side. "His family connections," says Mr. Hunter, in the letter already referred to, "appear to have been adherents to the cause of the Parliament; particularly the Harlakendens, in whose regiment a Jocelyn, named Ralph, was a chaplain." Nor is this all. "In the year 1663," continues the learned authority just cited, "there was a slight insurrectionary movement in the North; which was easily put down by the government, and the leaders executed. In a manuscript list of persons who were either openly engaged, or who were vehemently suspected of being favorers of the design, I find in the latter class the name of Capt. John Jossline." This plot was not discovered till January, 1664; and our John Josselyn "departed from London," as he says at page one of this volume, "upon an invitation of my only brother," the 28th of May of the year previous. But, if it be possible that our author was the person intended in

wherein you have the Setting-out of a Ship, with the Charges; the Prices of all Necessaries for furnishing a Planter and his Family at his first Coming; a Description of the Country, Natives, and Creatures; the Government of the Countrey as it is now possessed by the English, &c. A large Chronological Table of the most Remarkable Passages, from the first Discovering of the Continent of America to the Year 1673." 12mo, pp. 279. Reprinted in the third volume of the Third Series of the Collections of the Historical Society; which edition is quoted here. A large part of the "Voyages" is taken up with observations relating to natural history; and it is quite likely that the author tried in this second work to supply some of the defects of his "Rarities." Compare especially the accounts of beasts of the earth, of birds, and of fishes; each of which is better done in the "Voyages."

Josselyn was, it appears, a man of polite reading. He quotes Lucan, Pliny, and Du Bartas; he has Latin and Italian proverbs; he is acquainted with the writings of Mr. Perkins, that famous divine; with Van

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the manuscript list as one strongly suspected of being engaged in a design against the Royal Government, the evident uncertainty of this is too great to permit us to discredit his own exposure of his political leanings,—as in the *Voyages*, p. 197, where, speaking of Sir F. Gorges, he says, "And, when he was between three and fourscore years of age, did personally engage in our royal martyr's service, and particularly in the siege of Bristow; and was plundered and imprisoned several times, by reason whereof he was discountenanced by the pretended Commissioners for Forraign Plantations," and so forth,—or in the face of another passage to be quoted further on, in which he acknowledges "the bounty of his royal sovereignty," to question the sincerity—which there is nothing in either of his books to throw doubt upon—of his general adhesion to the Royalist side. "The family in Hertfordshire," says Mr. Hunter, "were nonconformists; but the spirit of nonconformity seems to have spent itself at the death of Sir Strange Jocelyn, the second baronet, who died in 1734. But we may trace the Puritan influence in the present Earl of Roden, who is a conspicuous member of the religious body in England called the Evangelical."—Ms. *ut sup.*



Helmont; with Sandys's "Travels," and Capt. John Smith's. His curiosity in picking up "excellent medicines" points to an acquaintance with physic; of his practising which, there occur, indeed (pp. 48, 58, 63), several instances.<sup>8</sup> Nor is he, by any means, uninterested in prescriptions for the kitchen; as see his elaborate *recipe* for cooking eels (Voyages, p. 111), and also that (*ibid.*, p. 190) for a compound liquor "that exceeds *passada*, the Nectar of the country;" which is made, he tells us, of "Syder, Maligo-Raisons, Milk, and Syrup of Clove-Gilliflowers." But his curiosity in natural history, and especially in botany, is his chief merit; and this now gives almost all the value that is left to his books.<sup>9</sup> William Wood, the author of "New-England's Prospect" (London, 1634<sup>10</sup>), was a better observer, generally, than Josselyn; but the latter makes up for his other short-comings by the particularity of his botanical information.

The "Voyages" was Josselyn's last appearance in print. He was already advanced in years, and alludes to this at page 69 of the present book, where he says

<sup>8</sup> And see the Voyages, p. 187, for an account of a "Barbarie-Moor under cure" of the author, when he "perceived that the Moor had one skin more than Englishmen. The skin that is basted to the flesh is bloudy, and of the same Azure colour with the veins, but deeper than the colour of our Europeans' veins. Over this is an other skin, of a tawny colour, and upon that [the] *Epidermis*, or *Cuticula*,—the flower of the skin, which is that Snake's cast; and this is tawny also. The colour of the blew skin mingling with the tawny, makes them appear black." Dr. Mitchell, the botanist of Virginia, has a paper upon the same topic,—the cause of the negro's color,—in the Philosophical Transactions; but this appears less in accordance with more recent researches (Prichard, Nat. Hist. of Man, p. 81) than Josselyn's observations.

<sup>9</sup> "His book is a curiosity, sometimes worth examining, but seldom to be implicitly relied on." — *Savage*, in Winthrop, N. E., vol. i. p. 267, note.

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted, the third edition, with an introductory essay and some notes; Boston, 1764,—the edition made use of in these notes.



he shall refer the further investigation of a curious plant — of which a neighbor, “wandering in the woods to find out his strayed cattle,” had brought him a fragment — “to those that are younger, and better able to undergo the pains and trouble of finding it out.” “Henceforth,” he declares in his “Voyages,” p. 151, “you are to expect no more Relations from me. I am now return’d into my Native Countrey; and, by the providence of the Almighty and the bounty of my Royal Sovereigness, am disposed to a holy quiet of study and meditation for the good of my soul; and being blessed with a transmentitation or change of mind, and weaned from the world, may take up for my word, *non est mortale quod opto*.”

We may suppose that a rude acquaintance with the more common or important animals of a new country will commence with the discovery of it. Thus the beginning of European knowledge of the marine animals of America goes back, doubtless, to the earliest fisheries of Newfoundland; and these began almost immediately after the discovery of the continent. Game and peltry were also likely to come to the knowledge of the earliest adventurers; and scattered among these, from the first, were doubtless men capable of regarding the world of new objects around them with an intelligent, if not a literate eye. Descriptions in this way, and specimens, at length reached Europe, and became known to the learned there — to Gesner, Clusius, and Aldrovandus — from as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Without being naturalists, such observers as Heriot in Virginia (1585-6) and Wood in Massachu-

setts (1634) could give valuable accounts of what they saw; and more, it may well be, was due to the Christian missionaries, who accompanied or followed the adventurers, for the conversion of the heathen. Gabriel Sagard was one of these missionaries, a *recollet* or reformed Franciscan monk, who went from Paris to Canada in 1624, and spent two years in the country of the Hurons; publishing his "Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons" in 1632, and enlarging it in 1636 to "Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Freres Mineurs recollets y ont faits pour la Conversion des Infidelles," &c., in four books; of which the third treats of natural history,<sup>1</sup> and is cited by Messrs. Audubon and Bachmann (Vivip. Quadrupeds of N. A., *passim*) for a good part of our more common and noticeable *Mammalia*. Something considerable thus got to be known of marine animals of all sorts, and of quadrupeds. But it was much longer before our birds — if we except a very few, as the blue-jay and the turkey — came to the scientific knowledge of Europeans; and this remark is, as might be expected, at least equally true of our reptiles.

Quite as accidental, doubtless, was the beginning of European acquaintance with our plants. There are, indeed, traces of the knowledge of a few at a very early period. Dalechamp, Clusius, Lobel, and Alpinus — all authors of the sixteenth century — must be cited occasionally in any complete synonymy of our *Flora*. The Indian-corn, the side-saddle flower (*Sarracenia purpurea* and *S. flava*), the columbine, the common milk-

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<sup>1</sup> Biographie Universelle, *in loco*.

weed (*Asclepias Cornuti*), the everlasting (*Antennaria margaritacea*), and the *Arbor vitæ*, were known to the just-mentioned botanists before 1600. *Sarracenia flava* was sent either from Virginia, or possibly from some Spanish monk in Florida. Clusius's figure of our well-known northern *S. purpurea* — of which he gives, however, only the leaves and base of the stem (*Clus. Hist., Pl., cit.* Gerard & Johnson) — was derived from a specimen furnished to him by one Mr. Claude Gonier, apothecary at Paris, who himself had it from Lisbon; whither we may suppose it was carried by some fisherman from the Newfoundland coast. The evening primrose (*Oenothera biennis*) was known in Europe, according to Linnæus, as early as 1614. *Polygonum sagittatum* and *arifolium* (tear-thumb) were figured by De Laet, probably from New-York specimens, in his "Novus Orbis," 1633. Johnson's edition of Gerard's "Herbal" (1636) — which was possibly our author's manual in the study of New-England plants — contains some dozen North-American species, furnished often from the garden of Mr. John Tradescant, who had other plants from "Virginia" beside the elegant one which bears his name; and John Parkinson — whose "Theatrum Botanicum" (1640) is declared by Tournefort to embrace a larger number of species than any work which had gone before it — describes, especially from Cornuti, a still larger number. But the first treatise especially concerned with North-American plants was that of the French author just mentioned; which, on several accounts, deserves particular attention.

John Robin — "second to none," says Tournefort, "in

the knowledge and cultivation of plants" — was placed in charge of the Royal Botanical Garden at Paris, about the year 1570; and Vespasian Robin, "a most diligent botanist," followed, in similar connection<sup>2</sup> with the larger garden founded by Lewis the Thirteenth. Both are said to have assisted the writer whose book we are to notice; but especially the latter,<sup>3</sup> who, there is little doubt, deserves credit for all the American species described in it.

The history of Canadian and other new plants — "Canadensium Plantarum, aliarumque nondum editarum Historia" of Jacobus Cornuti, Doctor of Medicine, of Paris — was printed in that city (pp. 238) in 1635, under the patronage just mentioned; and contains accounts, accompanied, in every case but one, with figures on copper, of thirty-seven of our plants; of which the meadow-rue is known to botanists as *Thalictrum Cornuti*; and the common milkweed, as *Asclepias Cornuti*. Though himself not eminent as a botanist,<sup>4</sup> the work of

<sup>2</sup> He is called *Botanicus Regius* by Cornuti, p. 22; and the same title is given to both the Robins, in the printed catalogue of plants cultivated by them. Tournefort indicates the office of Vespasian Robin, at the new Botanic Garden, as follows: "*Brosæus . . . primus Horti præfectus, studiosis plantas indigitandi numeri præposuit Vespasianum Robinum diligentissimum Botanicum.*" — *Inst. Rei Herb.*, vol. i. p. 48. And the recent writer in the *Biographie Universelle*, says, more expressly, that the royal *ordonnance* establishing the garden names Vespasian Robin "sub-demonstrator" of botany, with a stipend of two hundred francs yearly. According to this writer, the two Robins were not, as has been said, father and son, but brothers; and Vespasian the elder. This one must have reached a great age, as the celebrated Morrison, who visited France in 1640, and remained there twelve years, calls himself his disciple. — *Biog. Universelle*, *in loco*.

<sup>3</sup> Tournefort, *ubi supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Cornuti autem parum fuit in plantarum cognitione versatus, ut manifestum est ex ineptis appellationibus quibus utitur in *Euchiridio Botanico Parisiensi*, et descriptionibus speciosis ab Herbariorum stylo tamen alienis. — *Tournef. Inst.*, vol. i. p. 43. Compare, as to the botanical merits of Cornuti, the writer in *Biographie Universelle*,

Cornuti was valuable for its elegant presentation of much that was new; and it will always deserve honorable remembrance in the history of our *Flora*. There are several passages of it — as at pp. 5 and 7, and in the account of the two baneberries at p. 76, where we read, “Opacis et sylvestribus locis in eadem Americæ parte frequentissimum est geminum genus” — which look a little like a proper botanical collector’s notes on his specimens; and these specimens, and the others from the same region, may well have been results of the herborizing of that worthy Franciscan missionary, whose early observations on the natural history of Canada have been mentioned already above. Nor were the North-American plants possessed by Cornuti entirely confined to this region; for he speaks at the end (p. 214) of his having received a root, *ex notha Anglia*, as he strangely calls it, known, it appears, by the name of *Serpentaria*, or, in the vernacular, *Snagroel*, — a sure remedy for the bite of a huge and most pernicious serpent *in notha Anglia*, — which was no doubt the snake-root so famous once as a cure for the bite of a rattlesnake, and one of the numerous varieties of *Nabalus albus* (L.) Hook., if not, as Pursh supposed, what is now the *var. Serpentaria*, Gray. But some view of the scantiness of scientific knowledge of our *Flora*, near forty years after Cornuti, may be had by reckoning the number of species for which Bauhin’s “Pinax” and

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who says that Cornuti’s terminology, to which Tournefort took exception, was that of Lobel; and farther, that the catalogue — *Enchiridium Botanicum Parisiense* — which is annexed to Cornuti’s larger work, is in several respects creditable to him. — *Biog. Univ.*, *in loco*.



“Prodrômus” (1671) are cited by Linnæus in the “Species Plantarum.” Most of them are Southern plants; and the few decidedly Northern ones which meet us — as *Cornus Canadensis*, *Uvularia perfoliata*, *Trillium erectum*, *Arum triphyllum*, and *Adiantum pedatum* — are all indicated, by Bauhin’s phrase, as from Brazil!

We have nothing illustrating the *Flora* of New England from Cornuti till Josselyn. In Virginia, Mr. John Banister, a correspondent of Ray’s, began to botanize probably not long after the middle of the seventeenth century. He was succeeded by several eminent names; as Mark Catesby, F.R.S. (born 1679), John Clayton, Esq. (born 1685), and John Mitchell, M.D., F.R.S., — a contemporary of the other two, — who together gave to the botany of Virginia a distinguished lustre; as did Cadwalader Colden, Esq. (born 1688), — a selection from whose correspondence has been lately edited by Dr. Gray, — to that of New York; John Bartram (born 1701), “American botanist to his Britannic Majesty,” to that of Pennsylvania; and, somewhat later, Alexander Garden, M.D., F.R.S. (born 1728), to that of South Carolina. Josselyn himself is, indeed, little more than a herbalist; but it is enough that he gets beyond that entirely unscientific character. He certainly botanized, and made botanical use of Gerard and his other authorities. The credit belongs to him of indicating several genera as new which were so, and peculiar to the American *Flora*. It may at least be said, that, at the time he wrote, there is no reason to suppose that any other person knew as much as he did of the botany of New England. “The plants in New



England," he says in his "Voyages," p. 59, "for the variety, number, beauty, and virtues, may stand in competition with the plants of any countrey in Europe. Johnson hath added to Gerard's 'Herbal' three hundred, and Parkinson mentioneth many more. Had they been in New England, they might have found a thousand, at least, never heard of nor seen by any Englishman before."<sup>5</sup> Nor did our author fail to adorn his "Rarities" with recognizable figures, as well as descriptions, of some of these new American plants; and his arrangement is also creditable to his botanical knowledge. By this arrangement, his collections are distinguished into —

<sup>5</sup> Mention of New-England plants may be found in earlier writers than Cornuti or Josselyn; but what is said is now rarely available. Gosnold's expedition was in 1602; and the writer of the account of it tells us that the island upon which his party proposed to settle (Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands) was covered with "oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage, and cedars, with divers others of unknown names;" beside "wild pease, young sassafrage, cherry-trees, vines, eglantine, gooseberry-bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality;" as also "strawberries, rasps, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c., without count." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxviii. p. 76. And so the writer of Mourt's Relation, in 1620, speaks of "sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, watercresses, &c., as noticed, "in winter," however, at Plymouth. — *Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii. p. 221. There is much here which is true enough, though the "eglantine" of the first writer is an evident mistake, as doubtless also the "carvel" of the other; but we have no reason to suppose that either of these passages ever had any scientific value. Josselyn, so far as his Botany goes, does not belong to this class of writers. There are important parts of his account of our plants, in which we know with certainty what he intended to tell us; and, farther, that this was worth the telling. And the credit which fairly belongs to the new *genera* of American plants, in some sort indicated by him, shall illustrate as well those other portions of his work where what he meant is a matter rather of deduction from his particulars, such as they are, in the light of his only here-and-there-cited authorities, than of plain fact. His English names — common, and perhaps often indefinite, as they strike us — had more of scientific value, in botanical hands at least, when he wrote, than now; and, there is good reason to suppose, were meant to indicate that the plants intended, or in some cases the *genera* to which they belonged, were the same with those published, under the same names, by Gerard, Johnson, and Parkinson.

1. "Such plants as are common with us in England."
2. "Such plants as are proper to the country." [name.]
3. "Such plants as are proper to the country, and have no
4. "Such plants as have sprung up since the English planted and kept cattle in New England."

The last of these divisions is the most valuable part of Josselyn's account, as it affords the only testimony that there is to the first notice among us of a number of now naturalized weeds, which it is an interesting question to separate from the more important class of plants truly indigenous in, and common to, both hemispheres; and the author's treatment of the latter — as indeed of the other two lists mentioned above — shows that he was competent, in a measure, to reckon the former. This furnishes a date, and an early one; and there is no other till 1785, when Dr. Manasseh Cutler's Memoir, to be spoken of, enables us to limit the appearance of some other species not mentioned by Josselyn.

There is no work of any size or importance on New-England plants, after Josselyn, for the whole century which followed. We were not, indeed, without men in distinguished connection with the European scientific world. The most eminent New-England family gained honors in science, as well as in the conduct of affairs. John Winthrop the younger, eldest son of the first Governor of Massachusetts, — and the "heir," says Savage, "of all his father's talents, prudence, and virtues, with a superior share of human learning,"<sup>6</sup> — was himself the first Governor of Connecticut, and had, in this

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<sup>6</sup> Winthrop's Journal, by Savage, edit. 1, vol. i. p. 64, note. See also Bancroft's character of the younger Winthrop, in History of the United States, vol. ii. p. 52.

connection, a certain scientific position and reputation. "The great Mr. Boyle, Bishop Wilkins, with several other learned men," says Dr. Eliot, "had proposed to leave England, and establish a society for promoting natural knowledge in the new colony of which Mr. Winthrop, their intimate friend and associate, was appointed Governor. Such men were too valuable to lose from Great Britain; and, Charles II. having taken them under his protection, the society was there established, and obtained the title of the Royal Society of London. . . . Mr. Winthrop sent over many specimens of the productions of this country, with his remarks upon them; 'and, by an order of the Royal Society, he was in a particular manner invited to take upon himself the charge of being the chief correspondent in the West, as Sir Philiberto Vernatti was in the East Indies.' 'His name,' says the same writer, Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary of the Royal Society, in his flattering dedication of the fortieth volume of the Philosophical Transactions to the Governor's grandson, 'had he put it to his writings, would have been as universally known as the Boyles's, the Wilkins's, and Oldenburghs', and been handed down to us with similar applause.'"<sup>7</sup> There is, in the volume of Philosophical Transactions for 1670, "An Extract of a Letter written by John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of Connecticut in New England, to the Publisher, concerning some Natural Curiosities of those Parts; especially a very strange and curiously-contrived Fish, sent for the Repository of the Royal Society" (pp. 3); in which are mentioned, as sent, specimens of

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<sup>7</sup> Eliot, Biog. Dict., *in loco*.

scrub-oak ; “bark of tree with fir-balsam, which grows in Nova Scotia, and, as I hear, in the more easterly part of New England ;” pods of milk-weed, “used to stuff pillows and cushions ;” and “a branch of the tree called the cotton-tree, bearing a kind of down, which also is not fit to spin.”

Fitz John Winthrop, Esq., F.R.S. (died 1707), son of the last, and also Governor of Connecticut, is said to have been “famous for his philosophical” (that is, scientific) “knowledge.”<sup>7</sup> And the second Governor’s son, John Winthrop, Esq., F.R.S. (died 1747), who left this country and passed the latter part of his life in England, is declared by the author of the dedication already above cited, to have “increased the riches of their” (the Royal Society’s) “repository with more than six hundred curious specimens, chiefly in the mineral kingdom ; accompanied with an accurate account of each particular.” “Since Mr. Colwell,” it is added, “the founder of the Museum of the Royal Society, you have been the benefactor who has given the most numerous collection.” Dr. John Winthrop, F.R.S. (died 1779), Hollisian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, N.E., whose important papers on astronomical and other related phenomena are to be found in the Philosophical Transactions, was of another line of the same family.

Paul Dudley, Esq., F.R.S. (born 1675), son of Gov. Joseph Dudley, and himself Chief Justice of Massachusetts, was author of several papers in the Philosophical Transactions ; one of which is an “Account of

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<sup>7</sup> Eliot, Biog. Dict., *in loco*.

the Poison-wood Tree in New-England" (vol. xxxi. p. 135); and another, "Observations on some Plants in New-England, with Remarkable Instances of the Nature and Power of Vegetation" (vol. xxxiii. p. 129). This last is of only seven pages, and of little scientific account: though we learn from it, that, in 1726, when Mr. Dudley wrote, the Pearmain, Kentish Pippin, and Golden Russetin, were esteemed apples here, and the Orange and Bergamot cultivated pears;<sup>8</sup> that, in one town in 1721, they made three thousand, and in another near ten thousand barrels of cider; and that, to speak of "trees of the wood," he knew of a button-wood tree which measured nine yards in girth, and made twenty-two cords of wood; and of an ash, which, at a yard from the ground, was fourteen feet eight inches in girth. He also expresses an intention to treat separately the evergreens of New England; and this treatise, which was possibly more valuable than the one just noticed, was in the possession of Peter Collinson, Esq., the eminent patron of horticulture, and was given by him to J. F. Gronovius; but has not, that I am aware of, appeared in print.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Interleaved Almanacs of 1646-48, cited by Savage (Winthrop, N. E., vol. ii. p. 332), mention "Tankard" and "Kreton" (perhaps Kirton) apples, as well as Russetins, Pearmaines, and Long-Red apples; beside "the great pears," and apricots, as grown here. In the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay (Records of Mass., vol. i. p. 24), there is an undated *memorandum*, "To provide to send for Newe England . . . stones of all sorts of fruites; as peaches, plums, filberts, cherries, pear, aple, quince kernells," &c., which the "First General Letter of the Governor," &c., of the 17th April, 1629, again makes mention of (*ibid.*, p. 392); and Josseelyn (Voyages, p. 189) remarks on the "good fruit" reared from such kernels. But, if this were the only source of our ancestors' English fruit, the names which they gave to the seedlings must have been vague.

<sup>9</sup> Gronov. *Fl. Virg.*, edit. 2. In Mr. Dillwyn's (unpublished) "Account of the Plants cultivated by the late Peter Collinson," from his own catalogue and other manu-



It is likely that the early physicians of New England gave special attention to those simples of the country, the virtues of which were known to the savages; and perhaps it was partly in this way that the Rev. Jared Eliot (born 1685), minister of Killingworth in Connecticut, — who is called by Dr. Allen “the first physician of his day,” — is also designated, both by him and by Eliot, a botanist; and by the latter, “the first in New England.” There is no doubt he was a friend of Dr. Franklin’s, and a scientific agriculturist according to the knowledge of his day; and he is said to have introduced the white mulberry into Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> His Agricultural Essays went through more than one edition, but is now rare. Mr. Eliot died while our next character, the first native New-England botanist who deserves the name, was a student of Yale College.

Manasseh Cutler, LL.D. (born 1743), was minister of the Hamlet in Ipswich — afterwards incorporated as the town of Hamilton — fifty-one years, and was also a member of the Medical Society of Massachusetts. He is author of “An Account of some of the Vegetable Productions naturally growing in this part of America, botanically arranged,” which makes nearly a hundred pages of the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy, 1785. In the introduction to this paper, the author speaks of Canada and the Southern States having had attention given to their productions, both by some of their own inhabitants and by European natu-

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scripts, I find Collinson quoting Mr. Dudley’s paper on Plants of New England, above mentioned; but not that on the Evergreens. — *Hortus Collins.*, p. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Eliot, Biog. Dict., and Allen, Amer. Biog. Dict., *in locis*.



ralists; while "that extensive tract of country which lies between them, including several degrees of latitude, and exceedingly diversified in its surface and soil, seems still to remain unexplored." He attributes the neglect, in part, to this, — "that botany has never been taught in any of our colleges," but principally to the prevalent opinion of its unprofitableness in common life. The latter error he combats with the then important observation, that, "though all the medicinal properties and economical uses of plants are not discoverable from those characters by which they are systematically arranged, yet the celebrated Linnæus has found that the virtues of plants may be, in a considerable degree, and most safely, determined by their *natural* characters: for plants of the same *natural* class are in some measure similar; those of the same *natural* order have a still nearer affinity; and those of the same genus have very seldom been found to differ in their medical virtues" (p. 397). This shows, perhaps, that Dr. Cutler appreciated (for the *Italics* in the just-quoted passage are his own) that adumbration of a natural system which was afforded or suggested by the artificial; and his instances — the *Gramineæ*, the *Borraginaceæ*, the *Umbelliferae*, the *Labiatae*, the *Cruciferae*, the *Malvaceæ*, the *Compositæ*, &c.; though these are cited under the divisions, not of the natural, but of the sexual system — are still more to the point. There are other observations of interest; and the suggestion is made, that persons should collect the plants of their districts, and send them from time to time to the Academy.

Dr. Cutler was thus, possibly, the first to suggest a

botanical chair in our colleges, and a general *herbarium* to illustrate the *Flora* of New England; and perhaps it was this last which led him to propose a still more important undertaking. "It has long been my intention," he says in a letter to Prof. Swartz, of Upsal, dated 15th October, 1802, "to publish a botanical work, comprising the plants of the northern and eastern States; and [I] have been collecting materials for that purpose. But numerous avocations, and a variety of other engagements, has occasioned delay. It is, however, still my intention, if my health permits, to do it. But, at this time, far less than in years past, there is very little encouragement given here to publications of this kind."<sup>2</sup>

About three hundred and seventy plants are indicated in the published "Account" of Dr. Cutler. It was not to be expected, that, in this beginning, numerous mistakes should not be made. It could not possibly have been otherwise. There is still evidence enough of the author's genius, which perhaps needed only opportunity and encouragement to anticipate a part of what botany now owes to a Nuttall, a Torrey, and a Gray. The "Account" was favorably received by other botanists of the time, both in this country and abroad. In a letter of Muhlenberg to Cutler, dated 9th February, 1791, the former says, "Not till a few months ago, I was favored with the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, printed at Boston, 1785. Amongst other valuable pieces, I

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<sup>2</sup> Mss. Cutler, *pencs me.*

found your 'Account of Indigenous Vegetables, botanically arranged;' with which I was infinitely pleased, as this was the first work that gives a systematical account of New-England plants. Being a great friend to botany, and having studied it in my leisure-hours upwards of fourteen years in Pennsylvania, I know the difficulty of arranging the American plants according to the Linnean system; and I was always eager to hear of some gentleman engaged in similar researches, that, by joining hands, we might do something towards enlarging American Botany. . . . This is the reason why I intrude upon your leisure-hours, and crave for your acquaintance and friendship."<sup>3</sup> Drs. Withering and Stokes, of England, were other correspondents of Cutler, and furnished him with important observations upon his printed Memoir, besides specimens; as did also Swartz, and, it appears, Payshull of Sweden. Dr. Stokes followed up his various suggestions for the improvement of the Memoir, by proposing to dedicate a plant, which he took to be new, to its author. "A plant," he says, "like a woolly heath, and which I wished to call *Cutleria ericoides*, turns out to be *Hudsonia ericoides*. I hope, however, your herborizations may furnish a new genus for you, not likely to be disturbed." — *Letters of Stokes to Cutler*, from "Feb. 14, '91, to Aug. 17, '93."<sup>3</sup>

But Dr. Cutler's printed memoir on the plants of New England is much surpassed in interest by his manuscript volumes of descriptions, still extant. These manuscript volumes commence with "Book I., 1783," and

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<sup>3</sup> Mss. Cutler, *penes me*.

continue, so far as I have seen them, to 1804. The late Mr. Oakes possessed six of these books; and two were given to me by my valued friend, the late Dr. T. W. Harris. They are generally entitled, "Descriptions and Notes on American Indigenous Plants," and contain a vast number of observations and analyses, sometimes accompanied by pen-and-ink sketches. This was evidently the material accumulated for the author's *Flora* above mentioned; and the following extracts will serve to show that he was in many respects qualified to undertake such a work. Thus, in describing the several hickories, he points out those differences from *Juglans*, upon which Nuttall afterwards constituted his genus *Carya*. Again, in the same volume, — that for 1789, — there is a *N. Gen. Anonymos*, minutely described in several pages, which is no other than *Thesium umbellatum*, L., afterwards distinguished by Nuttall as his genus *Comandra*. Again, under *Anonymos*, *Yellow-Sandbind*, there is a full description of what Nuttall after named *Hudsonia tomentosa*. The same volume shows that the author had anticipated Prof. Gray in referring *Orchis fimbriata*, as it was called by Pursh and other botanists, to *O. psychodes*, L.; and the remark is also made that *O. lacera* Michx., — which Muhlenberg and our other writers had mistakenly referred to *O. psychodes*, till Dr. Gray corrected the error, — must be a new species," which it then certainly was. Again, there is another *Anomolos* described at length, which is the same afterwards constituted by Nuttall his genus *Microstylis*. So *Campanula humida* (Cutler mss.) is what Pursh designated, long after, *C. aparinoides*. Again, in another vo-

lume (for 1800), he anticipates Pursh by proposing for our water-shield the name *Brasenia ovalifolia*; and, in yet another, he is before Bigelow in describing as a new species what the latter, many years later, published as *Prunus obovata*. This may suffice to indicate the merits of the botanist of Ipswich Hamlet. A little shrub-willow, with clean, shining leaves, and modest catkins, —inhabiting, almost everywhere, the alpine regions of the White Mountains, and gathered by him there, before any other botanist had penetrated those solitudes,—still reminds us of his name, which deserves to be remembered by his countrymen.

After Cutler, there appeared nothing of importance<sup>4</sup> on our botany, till the present elder school of New-England botanists — a school characterized by the names of an Oakes, a Boott, and an Emerson — was founded, now more than forty years ago, by the classical *Florula* of Bigelow.

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<sup>4</sup> The late Dr. Waterhouse, Professor of Medicine at Cambridge, read lectures on Natural History to his classes as early as 1788, and published the botanical part of these lectures in the *Monthly Anthology*, 1804-8; reprinting this in 1811, with the title of the *Botanist* (Boston, 8vo, pp. 228). In the preface to this volume, the author's are claimed to have been the first public lectures on Natural History given in the United States. The Massachusetts Professorship of Botany and Entomology was founded in 1805, and the Botanical Garden in 1807; but the eminent naturalist who first filled the chair left little behind him to bear witness to his acknowledged "learning and genius." — *Quincy, Hist. Harv. Univ.*, vol. ii. p. 330. The studies of Peck were not, however, confined to the *Fauna* and *Flora* of New England; and his distinguished successors in the lecture-room and the botanical garden — Mr. Nuttall, the late Dr. Harris, and Professor Gray — may be said to have maintained a like general, rather than local character, in the entomological and botanical investigations pursued at the University.

## NOTE.

The book is reprinted literally, except in the following items:—

Page 18, line 5, of the old edition, "amphibius" is spelled right.

Page 28, line 16, "Fresh-water mullet" is brought into a line by itself, instead of being made an apparent synonyme of the morse.

Page 32, line 6, one of the names of the yard-fish is omitted.

Page 47, line 15, "Akrons," where it occurs first, is corrected akorns.

Page 48, line 14, the same correction is made where "akrons" first occurs.

Page 54, line 5, "Knavers" is spelled knaves.

Page 58, line 18, "it" is printed its.

Page 61, line 2, comma omitted after blackish.

Page 86, line 21, "Planets" is corrected to plants.

Page 101, line last, "ones" is corrected to one.

Page 104, line 4, "Richards" is printed Richard; and, line 5, "Water" is corrected to Walter.

Page 104 to end, "*Anno Dom.*" is omitted from the old paging, but inserted in the new paging instead.

In the list of Fishes (the book proposing to consider *New-England* Curiosities), all those fishes which, according to the author, either in this book or the Voyages, are found in New-England waters, are distinguished from the rest by Italic letters.



*New-Englands*  
**RARITIES**

Discovered:

I N

*Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents,*  
and *Plants* of that Country.

Together with

The *Physical* and *Chyrurgical* REMEDIES  
wherewith the *Natives* constantly use to Cure their DISTEMPERS,  
WOUNDS, and SORES.

A L S O

A perfect *Description* of an *Indian SQUA*,  
in all her Bravery; with a POEM not improperly conferr'd  
upon her.

LASTLY

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE  
of the most remarkable Passages in that  
Country amongst the ENGLISH.

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*Illustrated with CUTS.*

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By JOHN JOSSELYN, Gent.

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London, Printed for *G. Widdowes* at the  
*Green Dragon* in *St. Pauls Church yard*, 1672.



TO THE HIGHLY OBLIGING,

HIS HONORED FRIEND AND KINSMAN,

SAMUEL FORTREY, Esq.

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SIR,

It was by your assistance (enabling me) that I commenc'd a voyage into those remote parts of the world (known to us by the painful discovery of that memorable gentleman, Sir Fran. Drake). Your bounty, then and formerly, hath engaged a retribution of my gratitude; and, not knowing how to testify the same unto you other-ways, I have (although with some reluctancy) adventured to obtrude upon you these rude and indigested eight years' observations, wherein whether I shall more shame my self, or injure your accurate judgment and better employment in the perusal, is a question.

We read of kings and gods that kindly took  
A pitcher fill'd with water from the brook.

The contemplation whereof (well knowing your noble and generous disposition) hath confirm'd in me the hope that you will pardon my presumption, and accept the tender of the fruits of my travel after this homely manner, and my self as,

Sir,

Your highly obliged and most humble Servant,

JOHN JOSSELYN.



## NEW-ENGLAND'S RARITIES

### DISCOVERED.

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IN the year of our Lord, 1663, May 28, upon an invitation from my only brother, I departed from London, and arrived at Boston, the chief town in the Massachusetts, a colony of Englishmen in New England, the 28th of July following.

Boston (whose longitude is 315 deg., and 42 deg. 30 min. of north latitude) is built on the south-west side of a bay large enough for the anchorage of 500 sail of ships. The buildings are handsome, joyning one to the other as in London; with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble stone. In the high street towards the Common, there are fair buildings, some of stone; and, at the east end of the [2] town, one amongst the rest, built by the shore by Mr. Gibbs, a merchant, being a stately edifice, which it is thought will stand him in little less than £3,000 before it be fully finished.<sup>1</sup> The town is not divided into parishes; yet they

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<sup>1</sup> This house was one Mr. Robert Gibbs's, "of an ancient family in Devonshire," says Farmer (Geneal. Reg., p. 120); and it stood on Fort Hill, the way leading to it becoming afterwards known as Gibbs's Lane, and a wharf at the waterside, belonging to the property, as Gibbs's Wharf. Mr. W. B. Trask, who obligingly examined for me the early deeds concerning this estate in Suffolk Registry, furnishes a *memorandum*, that on the 6th June, 1671, Robert Gibbs of Boston, merchant, conveys to Edward and Elisha Hutchinson, in trust, for Elizabeth, wife of said Robert, during her life, and after her decease to such child or children as he shall have by her, his land and house on Fort Hill, with warehouse on wharf, 'which land was formerly my grandfather, Henry Webb's.' The wife of said Robert Gibbs was daughter to Jacob Sheafe by Margaret, daughter to Henry Webb, mercer. Sampson Sheafe, a Provincial councillor of New Hampshire, and the ancestor of a family of long standing there, married another daughter of Jacob Sheafe. Mr. Gibbs was father to the Rev. Henry Gibbs, minister of Watertown, and had other children; and the family continues to this day.

have three fair meeting-houses, or churches, which hardly suffice to receive the inhabitants and strangers that come in from all parts.<sup>2</sup>

Having refreshed myself here for some time, and opportunely lighting upon a passage in a bark belonging to a friend of my brother's, and bound to the eastward, I put to sea again; and, on the fifteenth of August, I arrived at Black Point, otherwise called Scarborow, the habitation of my beloved brother,<sup>3</sup> being about an hundred leagues to the eastward of Boston. Here I resided eight years, and made it my business to discover, all along, the natural, physical, and chyrurgical rarities of this new-found world.

New England is said to begin at 40, and to end at 46, of northerly latitude; that is, from De la Ware Bay to Newfoundland.

The sea-coasts are accounted wholsomest: the east and south winds, coming [3] from sea, produceth warm weather; the north-west, coming over land, causeth extremity of cold, and many times strikes the inhabitants, both English and Indian, with that sad disease called there the "plague of the back," but with us *empiema*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Compare the author's Voyages, pp. 19, 161, 173, for other notices of Boston, and as to the first of these, which represents the town (in 1638) as "rather a village, . . . there being not above twenty or thirty houses," see the note in Savage's Winthrop, edit. 1, vol. i. p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Henry Josselyn was probably living at Black Point in 1638, when his brother first visited it (Voyages, p. 20). It was then the estate (by grant from the council at Plymouth) and residence of Captain Thomas Cammock; but he, dying in 1643, bequeathed it, except five hundred acres which were reserved to his wife, to Josselyn, who, marrying the widow, succeeded to the whole property, which was described as containing fifteen hundred acres (Willis, *infra*), but is called by Sullivan five thousand (History of Maine, p. 128). In 1658, this and other adjoining tracts were erected into a town by Massachusetts, under the name of Scarborough, which is thus further noticed by our author in his Voyages, p. 201, as "the town of Black Point, consisting of about fifty dwelling-houses, and a Magazine, or *Doganne*, scatteringly built. They have store of neat and horses, of sheep near upon seven or eight hundred, much arable and marsh, salt and fresh, and a corn-mill." — Comp. Williamson's Hist. of Maine, vol. i. pp. 392, 666; Willis in Geneal. Register, vol. i. p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Empyema* is a result of disease of the lungs. See Voyages, p. 121.



The country generally is rocky and mountainous, and extremely overgrown with wood, yet here and there beautified with large, rich valleys, wherein are lakes ten, twenty, yea sixty miles in compass, out of which our great rivers have their beginnings.<sup>5</sup>

Fourscore miles (upon a direct line) to the north-west of Scarborough, a ridge of mountains run north-west and north-east an hundred leagues, known by the name of the White Mountains, upon which lieth snow all the year, and is a landmark twenty miles off at sea. It is rising ground from the sea-shore to these hills, and they are inaccessible but by the gullies which the dissolved snow hath made. In these gullies grow saven bushes, which, being taken hold of, are a great help to the climbing discoverer. Upon the top of the highest of these mountains is a large level [4] or plain of a day's journey over, whereon nothing grows but moss. At the farther end of this plain is another hill, called the Sugar Loaf; to outward appearance, a rude heap of massie stones, piled one upon another; and you may, as you ascend, step from one stone to another, as if you were going up a pair of stairs; but winding still about the hill, till you come to the top; which will require half a day's time, and yet it is not above a mile; where there is also a level of about an acre of ground, with a pond of clear water in the midst of it; which you may hear run down,—but how it ascends is a mystery. From this rocky hill, you may see the whole country round about: it is far above the lower clouds, and from hence we beheld a vapour (like a great pillar) drawn up by the sunbeams out of a great lake or pond into the air, where it was formed into a cloud. The country beyond these hills northward is daunt-

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<sup>5</sup> Compare the accounts of the first appearance of the country by the Rev. Francis Higginson and Mr. Thomas Graves, both well-qualified observers, in *New-England's Plantation*, London, 1630; reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. p. 117. And see Wood's *New England's Prospect*, a book which our author was probably acquainted with; as compare p. 4 of Wood (edit. 1764) with the beginning of p. 3 of the *Rarities*, and some other places in both.

ing terrible, being full of rocky hills, as thick as mole-hills in a meadow, and cloathed with infinite thick woods.<sup>6</sup>

New England is by some affirmed to be an island, bounded on the north with the [5] river Canada,—so called from Monsieur Cane; on the south with the river Mohegan, or Hudson's River,—so called because he was the first that discovered it. Some will have America to be an island; which, out of question, must needs be, if there be a north-east pas-

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<sup>6</sup> The earliest ascents of the White Mountains were those made by Field and others in 1642, of which we have some account in Winthrop's Journal (by Savage, edit. 1, vol. ii. pp. 67, 89). Darby Field, "an Irishman living about Pascataquack," has the honor of being the first European who set foot upon the summit of Mount Washington. He appears at Exeter in 1639, and was at Dover in 1645, and died there in 1649, leaving a widow, and, it is said, children (A. H. Quint, in N. E. Geneal. Reg., vol. vi. p. 38). It seems likely, from his account, that Field, on reaching the Indian town in the Saco Valley, "at the foot of the hill" where the "two branches of Saco river met," pursued his way up the valley either of Rocky Branch or of Ellis River, till he gradually attained to the region of dwarf firs, on what is known as Boott's Spur, which is between the "valley" called Oakes's Gulf, in which the "Mount Washington" branch of the Saco has its head, and the valley in which the Rocky Branch rises (see G. P. Bond's Map of the White Mountains). There is no other way that shall fulfil the conditions of the narrative except that over Boott's Spur; but of the three streams, that is, "the two branches of Saco River," which come together at or near the probable site of the Indian town, the Rocky Branch is the shortest, and its valley the most ascending. Field repeated his visit, with some others, "about a month after;" and later, in the same year, the mountains were visited by the worshipful Thomas Gorges, Esq., Deputy-Governor, and Richard Vines, Esq., Councillor of the Province of Maine, of which Winthrop takes notice at p. 89. Whether Josselyn went up himself, or had his account from others, does not appear. But his calling the mountains "inaccessible but by the gullies," leaves it at least supposable, that he, or the party from which he got his information (perhaps Gorges's), instead of gradually ascending the long ridges, or spurs, penetrated into one of the gulfs (as they are there called), or ravines, of the eastern side; the walls of which are exceedingly steep, and literally inaccessible in many parts, except by the gullies. The "large level or plain of a day's journey over, whereon grows nothing but moss," is noticed in Winthrop's account of Gorges's ascent, but not in that of Field's; and this plain—which doubtless includes what has since been called "Bigelow's Lawn" (lying immediately under the south-eastern side of the summit of Mount Washington), but understood also, in Gorges's account, to extend northward as far as the "Lake of the Clouds"—furnishes another ground for supposing that the last-mentioned explorer, or, at least, Josselyn, may have penetrated the mountain by one of its eastern ravines; several of which head in the great plain mentioned, while that is rather remote from what we have taken for Field's "ridge." Our author is the only authority for the "pond of clear water in the midst of" the top of Mount Washington; though a somewhat capacious spring, which was well known there before the putting-up of the house on the summit, may have been larger once; or he may rather have mistaken, or misremembered, the position of the Lake of the Clouds.

sage found out into the South Sea.<sup>7</sup> It contains 1,152,400,000 acres. The discovery of the north-west passage, which lies within the river of Canada, was undertaken with the help of some Protestant Frenchmen, which left Canada and retired to Boston about the year 1669. The north-east people of America (i.e., New England, &c.) are judged to be Tartars, called Samoades; being alike in complexion, shape, habit, and manners (see the *Globe*). Their language is very significant, using but few words; every word having a diverse signification, which is exprest by their gesture: as, when they hold their head of one side, the word signifieth one thing; holding their hand up when they pronounce it signifieth another thing. Their speeches in their assemblies are very gravely delivered, commonly in perfect *hexameter* verse, with great silence and attention; and answered again *ex tempore*, after the same manner.<sup>8</sup>

[6] Having given you some short notes concerning the country in general, I shall now enter upon the proposed discovery of the natural, physical, and chyrurgical rarities; and, that I may methodically deliver them unto you, I shall cast them into this form: 1. Birds; 2. Beasts; 3. Fishes; 4. Serpents and Insects; 5. Plants,—of these, first, such plants as are common with us; second, of such plants as are proper to the country; third, of such plants as are proper to the country, and have no name known to us; fourth, of such plants as have sprung up since the English planted and kept cattle there; fifth, of such garden herbs (amongst us) as do thrive there, and of such as do not; sixth, of stones, minerals, metals, and earths.

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<sup>7</sup> Compare, as to the insulation of the tract understood by Josselyn as New England, Palfrey, *Hist. N. E.*, vol. i. pp. 1, 2, and note, and the accompanying map.

<sup>8</sup> See the author's larger account of the natives in his *Voyages*, pp. 123–150.

FIRST, OF BIRDS.<sup>9</sup>

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*The Humming-Bird.*

The humming-bird, the least of all birds, little bigger than a dor; of variable glittering colors. They feed upon honey, which they suck out of blossoms [7] and flowers with their long, needle-like bills. They sleep all winter, and are not to be seen till the spring; at which time they breed in little nests, made up like a bottom of soft, silk-like matter; their eggs no bigger than a white pease. They hatch three or four at a time, and are proper to this country.

*The Troculus.*<sup>10</sup>

The troculus, a small bird, black and white, no bigger than a swallow; the points of whose feathers are sharp, which they stick into the sides of the chymney (to rest themselves, their legs being exceeding short), where they breed in nests made like a swallow's nest, but of a glewy substance; and which is not fastened to the chymney as a swallow's nest, but hangs down the chymney by a clew-like string a yard long. They commonly have four or five young ones; and when they go away, which is much about the time that swallows use to depart, they never fail to throw down one of their young birds into the room by way of gratitude. I have more than once observed, that, against the ruin of the family, these birds will suddenly forsake the house, and come no more.

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<sup>9</sup> There is a much fuller account—to be noticed again—of our birds, in the Voyages, pp. 95–103. Wood's (N. E. Prospect, chap. viii.) is also curious. In the notes which immediately follow, on the birds, beasts, fishes, and reptiles, the oldest writers on our natural history will be found often to explain or illustrate each other.

<sup>10</sup> Chimney-swallow.

[8] *The Pilhannaw.*<sup>1</sup>

The pilhannaw, or mechquan, much like the description of the Indian ruck; a monstrous great bird; a kind of hawk, — some say an eagle; four times as big as a goshawk; white-mailed; having two or three purple feathers in her head, as long as geeses' feathers they make pens of. The quills of these feathers are purple, as big as swans' quills, and transparent. Her head is as big as a child's of a year old; a very princely bird. When she soars abroad, all sort of feathered creatures hide themselves; yet she never preys upon any of them, but upon fawns and jaccals. She ayries in the woods upon the high hills of Ossapy, and is very rarely or seldome seen.

*The Turkie.*<sup>2</sup>

The turkie, who is blacker than ours. I have heard several credible persons affirm they have seen turkie-cocks that have

<sup>1</sup> "The pilhannaw is the king of birds of prey in New England. Some take him to be a kind of eagle; others for the Indian ruck, — the biggest bird that is, except the ostrich. One Mr. Hilton, living at Pascataway, had the hap to kill one of them. Being by the sea-side, he perceived a great shadow over his head, the sun shining out clear. Casting up his eyes, he saw a monstrous bird soaring aloft in the air; and, of a sudden, all the ducks and geese (there being then a great many) dived under water, nothing of them appearing but their heads. Mr. Hilton, having made readie his piece, shot and brought her down to the ground. How he disposed of her, I know not; but had he taken her alive, and sent her over into England, neither Bartholomew nor Sturbridge Fair could have produced such another sight." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 95. These notices have been taken to be sufficient by some writers to show the probable existence of "a bird of prey, very large and bold, on the back of some of our American plantations." But our author's account indicates clearly a crested eagle, which we cannot explain by any thing nearer home than the yzquautli, or crested vulture of Mexico and the countries south of it (*Fulco Harpyja*, Gmel.); two notices of which (cited by Linnæus) had been published some twenty years before Josselyn wrote, and may have been supposed by him to be applicable to a large bird which he had heard of as inhabiting mountains about Ossipee. The great heron — an inhabitant of the coast, and so uncommon inland that "one . . . shot in the upper parts of New Hampshire was described to" Wilson "as a great curiosity" (*Amer. Ornith.*, by Brewer, p. 555) — has the size and the crest of Josselyn's bird; and, if this last was only (as is possible) the name of a confused conception made up from several accounts of large birds, the heron may well be thought to have had a share in it.

<sup>2</sup> "Of these, sometimes there will be forty, threescore and a hundred, of a flock; sometimes more, and sometimes less. Their feeding is acorns, hawes, and berries:



weighed forty, yea, sixty pound. But, out of my personal, experimental knowledge, I can assure you that I have eaten my share of a turkie-cock, that, when he was pull'd and garbidg'd, weighed thirty [9] pound; and I have also seen three-score broods of young turkies on the side of a marsh, sunning of themselves in a morning betimes. But this was thirty years since; the English and the Indians having now destroyed the breed, so that 'tis very rare to meet with a wild turkie in the woods. But some of the English bring up great store of the wild kind, which remain about their houses as tame as ours in England.

### *The Goose.*<sup>3</sup>

The goose, of which there are three kinds,—the gray goose, the white goose, and the brant. The goose will live a long time. I once found in a white goose three hearts. She was a very old one; and so tuff, that we gladly gave her over, although exceeding well roasted.

some of them get a haunt to frequent English-corn. In winter, when the snow covers the ground, they resort to the seashore to look for shrimps, and such small fishes, at low tides. Such as love turkey-hunting must follow it in winter, after a new-fallen snow, when he may follow them by their tracks. Some have killed ten or a dozen in half a day. If they can be found towards an evening, and watched where they perch,—if one come about ten or eleven of the clock,—he may shoot as often as he will: they will sit, unless they be slenderly wounded. These turkies remain all the year long. The price of a good turkey-cock is four shillings; and he is well worth it, for he may be in weight forty pounds: a hen, two shillings."—*Wood, N. Eng. Prospect*, chap. viii. See also Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> "The geese of the country be of three sorts. First, a brant goose; which is a goose almost like the wild goose in England. The price of one of these is sixpence. The second kind is a white goose, almost as big as an English tame goose. These come in great flocks about Michaelmas: sometimes there will be two or three thousand in a flock. Those continue six weeks, and so fly to the southward; returning in March, and staying six weeks more, returning to the northward. The price of one of these is eightpence. The third kind of geese is a great grey goose, with a black neck, and a black and white head; strong of flight: and these be a great deal bigger than the ordinary geese of England; some very fat, and, in the spring, full of feathers, that the shot can scarce pierce them. Most of these geese remain with us from Michaelmas to April. They feed in the sea upon grass in the bays at low water, and gravel, and in the woods of acorns; having, as other fowl have, their pass and repass to the northward and southward. The accurate marksmen kill of these both flying and sitting. The price of a grey goose is eighteen-pence."—*Wood, N. E. Prospect*, l. c. The white



*The Bloody-Flux cured.*

A friend of mine, of good quality, living some time in Virginia, was sore troubled, for a long time, with the bloody-flux. Having tryed several remedies, by the advice of his friends, without any good effect, at last was induced with a longing desire to drink the fat-dripping [10] of a goose newly taken from the fire; which absolutely cured him, who was in despair of ever recovering his health again.

*The Gripe and Vulture.*

The gripe, which is of two kinds,—the one with a white head, the other with a black head: this we take for the vulture. They are both cowardly kites,<sup>4</sup> preying upon fish cast

goose here mentioned is probably the snow-goose; upon which compare Nuttall, Mass. Ornith., Water-Birds, p. 344. Josselyn (Voyages, p. 100) says the brant and the gray goose "are best meat; the white are lean and tough, and live a long time; whereupon the proverb, 'Older than a white goose:'" which is not supported by Wood or later writers. The snow-goose has become much less frequent with us since the settlement of the country. The great grey goose of Wood is our well-known Canada goose.

<sup>4</sup> This was the best that our author could say of the eagles of New England. Wood assists us once more here: "The eagles of the country be of two sorts,—one like the eagles that be in England; the other is something bigger, with a great white head and white tail. These be commonly called gripes."—*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. The first spoken of by Wood—and perhaps, also, what Josselyn names last—may be the common or ring-tailed eagle, now known to be the young of the golden eagle. The second of Wood, and first of our author, is, without doubt, the bald eagle; the (so to say) tyrannical habits of which bird are sufficiently well known, at least in the vivid pages of Wilson. See the *Voyages*, p. 96; where we learn also that "hawkes there are of several kinds; as goshawks, falcons, laniers, sparrow-hawkes, and a little black hawke highly prized by the Indians, who wear them on their heads, and is accounted of worth sufficient to ransom a sagamour. They are so strangely couragious and hardie, that nothing flyeth in the air that they will not bind with. I have seen them tower so high, that they have been so small that scarcely could they be taken by the eye" (p. 95-6). Wood makes like mention of this little black hawk (*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c.); and R. Williams (Key into the Language of the Indians of N. E., in *Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii. p. 220) calls it "sachim, a little bird about the bigness of a swallow, or less; to which the Indians give that name, because of its sachem or prince-like courage and command over greater birds: that a man shall often see this small bird pursue and vanquish and put to flight the crow and other birds far bigger than itself." This was our well-known king-bird; and Josselyn, on the same page, tells us of "a small ash-

up on the shore. In the year 1668, there was a great mortality of eels in Casco Bay: thither resorted, at the same time, an infinite number of gripes; insomuch that, being shot by the inhabitants, they fed their hogs with them for some weeks. At other times, you shall seldom see above two or three in a dozen miles' travelling. The quill-feathers in their wings make excellent text-pens, and the feathers of their tail are highly esteemed by the Indians for their arrows. They will not sing in flying. A gripe's tail is worth a beaver's skin, up in the country.

*A Remedy for the Coldness and Pain of the Stomach.*

The skin of a gripe, drest with the doun on, is good to wear upon the stomach, for the pain and coldness of it.

[11] *The Osprey.*

The osprey, which in this country is white-mail'd.

*A Remedy for the Toothach.*

Their beaks excell for the toothach; picking the gums therewith till they bleed.

*The Wobble.*<sup>5</sup>

The wobble, an ill-shaped fowl; having no long feathers in their pinions, which is the reason they cannot fly; not much unlike the penguin. They are in the spring very fat, or rather oily; but pull'd and garbidge'd, and laid to the fire to roast, they yield not one drop.

colour bird that is shaped like a hawke, with talons and beak, that falleth upon crows; mounting up into the air after them, and will beat them till they make them cry:" which was, perhaps, the king-bird's half-cousin, as Wilson calls him,—the purple-martin.

<sup>5</sup> Nuttall (Manual, Water-Birds, p. 520) says that the young of the red-throated diver is called cobble in England. Our author elsewhere (Voyages, p. 101) makes mention of the "wobble," and the "wilmote" (that is, guillemot) as distinct; but *his* wilmot was "a kind of teal."

*For Aches.*

Our way (for they are very sovereign for aches) is to make mummy of them; that is, to salt them well, and dry them in an earthen pot well glazed in an oven: or else (which is the better way) to burn them under ground for a day or two; then quarter them, and stew them in a tin stewpan, with a very little water.

[12] *The Loone.*

The loone is a water-fowl, alike in shape to the wobble, and as virtual for aches; which we order after the same manner.<sup>6</sup>

*The Owl.*

The owl, *Avis devia*, which are of three kinds, — the great gray owl with ears; the little gray owl; and the white owl, which is no bigger than a thrush.<sup>7</sup>

*The Turkie-Buzzard.*

The turkie-buzzard, a kind of kite, but as big as a turkie; brown of color, and very good meat.<sup>8</sup>

*What Birds are not to be found in New England.*

Now, by what the country hath not, you may gness at what it hath. It hath no nightingals, nor larks, nor bul-

<sup>6</sup> "He maketh a noise sometimes like a sow-gelder's horn." — *N. Eng. Prospect*, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> The first is the great-horned or cat-owl: the second, probably, the mottled or little screech-owl, which Wood notices more fully as "small, speckled like a partridge, with ears" (l. c.); and the third, the Acadian or little owl. There are but two owls reckoned in *New-England's Prospect*; the second of which — "a great owl, almost as big as an eagle; his body being as good meat as a partridge" (l. c.) — is, perhaps, the snowy owl, which, according to Audubon, is good eating. — *Peabody Report on Birds of Mass.*, p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear what is meant here. The author merely mentions the bird again, in *Voyages*, p. 96.

finches, nor sparrows, nor blackbirds, nor mag[12]pies, nor jackdaws, nor popinjays, nor rocks, nor pheasants, nor woodcocks, nor quails, nor robins, nor cuckoos, &c.<sup>9</sup>

## SECONDLY, OF BEASTS.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Bear, which are generally Black.*<sup>2</sup>

The bear. They live four months in caves; that is, all winter. In the spring, they bring forth their young ones. They

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<sup>9</sup> So Wood: "There are no magpies, jackdaws, cuckoos, jays, &c." — *New-England's Prospect*, l. c. Our author, in his *Voyages*, adds to the above list of New-England birds the following: "The partridge is larger than ours; white-flesht, but very dry: they are indeed a sort of partridges called grooses. The pidgeon, of which there are millions of millions. . . . The snow-bird, like a chaf-finch, go in flocks, and are good meat. . . . Thrushes, with red breasts, which will be very fat, and are good meat. . . . Thressels, . . . filladies, . . . small singing-birds; ninmurders, little yellow birds; New-England nightingales, painted with orient colours, — black, white, blew, yellow, green, and scarlet, — and sing sweetly; wood-larks, wrens, swallows, who will sit upon trees; and starlings, black as ravens, with scarlet pinions. Other sorts of birds there are; as the troculus, wagtail or dish-water, which is here of a brown colour; titmouse, — two or three sorts; the dunneck or hedge-sparrow, who is starke naked in his winter nest; the golden or yellow hammer, — a bird about the bigness of a thrush, that is all over as red as blood; woodpeckers of two or three sorts, gloriously set out with variety of glittering colours; the colibry, viemalin, or rising or walking-bird, — an emblem of the resurrection, and the wonder of little birds. The water-fowl are these that follow: Hookers, or wild swans; cranes; . . . four sorts of ducks, — a black duck, a brown duck like our wild ducks, a grey duck, and a great black and white duck. These frequent rivers and ponds. But, of ducks, there be many more sorts; as bounds, old wives, mures, doies, shell-drakes, shoulers or shoflers, widgeons, simps, teal, blew-wing'd and green-wing'd didapers or dipchicks, fenduck, duckers or moorhens, coots, pochards (a water-fowl like a duck), plungeons (a kind of water-fowl, with a long, reddish bill), puets, plovers, smethes, wilmotes (a kind of teal), godwits, humilities, knotles, red-shankes, . . . gulls, white gulls or sea-cobbs, caudemandies, herons, grey bitterns, ox-eyes, birds called oxen and keen, petterels, king's fishers, . . . little birds that frequent the sea-shore in flocks, called sanderlins. They are about the bigness of a sparrow, and, in the fall of the leaf, will be all fat. When I was first in the countrie" (that is, in 1638; in which connection, what follows is not without its interest to us), "the English cut them into small pieces to put into their puddings, instead of suet. I have known twelve-score and above killed at two shots. . . . The cormorant, shape or sharke" (pp. 99-103).

<sup>1</sup> Compare the account given in the *Voyages*, pp. 82-95, which is much fuller; as also *New-England's Prospect*, chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> "Most fierce in strawberry-time; at which time they have young ones; at which time, likewise, they will go upright, like a man, and climb trees, and swim to the

seldome have above three cubs in a litter; are very fat in the fall of the leaf, with feeding upon acorns; at which time they are excellent venison. Their brains are venomous. They feed much upon water-plantane in the spring and summer, and berries, and also upon a shell-fish called a *horse-foot*; and are never mankind—i.e., fierce—but in rutting-time; and then they walk the country,—twenty, thirty, forty, in a company,—making a hideous noise with roaring, which you may hear a mile or two before they come so near as to endanger the traveller. About four years since, acorns being very scarce up in the country, some numbers of them came down [14] amongst the English plantations, which generally are by the sea-side. At one town called Gorgiana, in the Province of Meyn (called also New Sommersetshire), they kill'd fourscore.

*For Aches and Cold Swellings.*

Their grease is very good for aches and cold swellings. The Indians anoint themselves therewith from top to toe; which hardens them against the cold weather. A black bear's skin heretofore was worth forty shillings; now you may have one for ten: much used by the English for beds and coverlets, and by the Indians for coats.

*For Pain and Lameness upon Cold.*

One Edw. Andrews, being foxt,<sup>3</sup> and falling backward cross a thought<sup>4</sup> in a shallop or fisher-boat, and taking cold upon

islands: which if the Indians see, there will be more sportful bear-baiting than Paris garden can afford; for, seeing the bears take water, an Indian will leap after him; where they go to water-cuffs for bloody noses and scratched sides. In the end, the man gets the victory; riding the bear over the watery plain, till he can bear him no longer. . . . There would be more of them, if it were not for the wolves which devour them. A kennel of those ravening runagadoes, setting upon a poor, single bear, will tear him as a dog will tear a kid."—*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c., which see farther; and also Josselyn's *Voyages*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>3</sup> Stupefied with drink.—*Webster, Eng. Dict.*

<sup>4</sup> Thwart.



it, grew crooked, lame, and full of pain; was cured, lying one winter upon bears' skins newly flead off, with some upon him, so that he sweat every night.

### *The Wolf.*<sup>5</sup>

The wolf, of which there are two kinds, — one with a round-ball'd foot, and [15] are in shape like mungrel mastiffs; the other with a flat foot. These are liker greyhounds; and are called deer-wolves, because they are accustomed to prey upon deer. A wolf will eat a wolf new-dead: and so do bears, as I suppose; for their dead carcases are never found, neither by the Indian nor English. They go a-clicketing twelve days, and have as many whelps at a litter as a bitch. The Indian dog<sup>6</sup> is a creature begotten 'twixt a wolf and a fox; which the Indians, lighting upon, bring up to hunt the deer with. The wolf is very numerous, and go in companies, — sometimes ten, twenty, more or fewer; and so cunning, that seldome any are kill'd with guns or traps: but, of late, they have invented a way to destroy them, by binding four mayeril-hooks a cross with a brown thread; and then, wrapping some wool about them, they dip them in melted tallow till it be as round and as big as an egg. These (when any beast hath been kill'd by the wolves) they scatter by the dead carcase,

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<sup>5</sup> "The woolves be in some respect different from them in other countries. It was never known yet that a wolf ever set upon a man or woman: neither do they trouble horses or cows; but swine, goats, and red calves, which they take for deer, be often destroyed by them; so that a red calf is cheaper than a black one, in that regard, in some places. . . . They be made much like a mungrel; being big-boned, lank-paunched, deep-breasted; having a thick neck and head, prick ears and long snout, with dangerous teeth; long, staring hair, and a great bush-tail. It is thought by many that our English mastiff might be too hard for them: but it is no such matter; for they care no more for an ordinary mastiff than an ordinary mastiff cares for a cur. Many good dogs have been spoiled by them. . . . There is little hope of their utter destruction; the country being so spacious, and they so numerous, travelling in the swamps by kennels: sometimes ten or twelve are of a company. . . . In a word, they be the greatest inconveniency the country hath." — *New-England's Prospect*, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Spoken of again in the *Voyages*, pp. 94 and 193; and in Hubbard, *Hist. N. England*, p. 25. Josselyn's may be compared with Lewis and Clark's notice of the Indian dog (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 165).



after they have beaten off the wolves. About midnight, the wolves are sure to return again to the place where they left the slaughtered beast; and the [16] first thing they venture upon will be these balls of fat.

*For Old Aches.*

A black wolf's skin is worth a beaver-skin among the Indians; being highly esteemed for helping old aches in old people; worn as a coat. They are not mankind, as in Ireland and other countries; but do much harm by destroying of our English cattle.

*The Ounce.<sup>7</sup>*

The ounce, or wild-cat, is about the bigness of two lusty ram-cats: preys upon deer and our English poultery. I once found six whole ducks in the belly of one I killed by a pond-side. Their flesh roasted is as good as lamb, and as white.

*For Aches and Shrunk Sinews.*

Their grease is sovereign for all manner of aches and shrunk sinews. Their skins are accounted good fur, but somewhat coarse.

[17] *The Raccoon.<sup>8</sup>*

The raccoon liveth in hollow trees, and is about the size of a gib-cat. They feed upon mass, and do infest our Indian-

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<sup>7</sup> Called also "lusern, or luceret," in the Voyages, p. 85; the loup-cervier of Sagar (Hist. Can., 1636, *cit.* Aud. and Bachm. Vivip. Quadr. N. A., p. 136); of Dobbs's Hudson's Bay, &c.; but more commonly called gray cat, or lynx, in New England. Wood calls it "more dangerous to be met withal than any other creature; not fearing either dog or man. He useth to kill deer. . . . He hath likewise a device to get geese: for, being much of the colour of a goose, he will place himself close by the water; holding up his bob-tail, which is like a goose-neck. The geese, seeing this counterfeited goose, approach nigh to visit him; who, with a sudden jerk, apprehends his mistrustless prey. The English kill many of these, accounting them very good meat." — *New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. Audubon and Bachman (*l. c.*, p. 14) give a similar good account of the flesh of the bay-lynx, or common wild-cat.

<sup>8</sup> The raccoon is, or has been, an inhabitant of all North America (Godman, Nat. Hist., vol. i. p. 117), and was one of the first of our animals with which European

corn very much. They will be exceeding fat in autumn. Their flesh is somewhat dark, but good food roasted.

*For Bruises and Aches.*

Their fat is excellent for bruises and aches. Their skins are esteemed a good, deep fur; but yet, as the wild-cats, somewhat coarse.

*The Porcupine.*

The porcupine, in some parts of the countrey eastward towards the French, are as big as an ordinary mungrel cur; a very angry creature, and dangerous,—shooting a whole shower of quills with a rowse at their enemies; which are of that nature, that, wherever they stick in the flesh, they will work through in a short time, if not prevented by pulling of them out. The Indians make use of their quills, which are hardly a handful long, to adorn [18] the edges of their birchen dishes; and weave (dying some of them red, others yellow and blew) curious bags or pouches, in works like Turkiework.<sup>9</sup>

*The Beaver, Canis Ponticus Amphibius.*<sup>1</sup>

The beaver, whose old ones are as big as an otter, or rather bigger; a creature of a rare instinct, as may apparently be seen in their artificial dam-heads to raise the water in the ponds where they keep; and their houses having three stories; which would be too large to discourse. They have all of them four cods hanging outwardly between their hinder

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naturalists became acquainted. Linnæus (Syst. Nat.) cites Conrad Gesner among those who have illustrated or mentioned it. Wood says they are “as good meat as a lamb;” and further, that, “in the moonshine night, they go to feed on clams at a low tide, by the seaside, where the English hunt them with their dogs.”—*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c.

<sup>9</sup> The author's account of the Indian works in birch-bark and porcupine-quills is much fuller in his *Voyages*, p. 143.

<sup>1</sup> Wood's account is far better.—*New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. vii. See page 53 of the *Rarities* for mention of the musk quash.

legs: two of them are soft or oylly, and two solid or hard. The Indians say they are hermaphrodites.

*For Wind in the Stomach.*

Their solid cods are much used in physick. Our English women in this country use the powder, grated—as much as will lye upon a shilling—in a draught of Fiol wine, for wind in the stomach and belly; and venture many times, in such cases, to give it to women with child. Their tails are flat, and covered with scales, without hair; [19] which, being flead off, and the tail boiled, proves exceeding good meat; being all fat, and as sweet as marrow.

*The Moose-Deer.<sup>2</sup>*

The moose-deer, which is a very goodly creature,—some of them twelve foot high; with exceeding fair horns, with broad palms,—some of them two fathom from the tip of one horn to the other. They commonly have three fawns at a time. Their flesh is not dry, like deer's flesh, but moist and lushious; somewhat like horse-flesh (as they judge that have tasted of both), but very wholesome. The flesh of their fawns is an incomparable dish; beyond the flesh of an asses foal, so highly esteemed by the Romans; or that of young spaniel-puppies, so much cried up in our days in France and England.

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<sup>2</sup> See Voyages, pp. 88–91. Called *moos-soog* (rendered “great-ox; or, rather, red deer”) in R. Williams’s Key (Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 223): but this is rather the plural form of *moos*; as see the same, l. c. p. 222, and note, and Rasles’ Dict. Abnaki, *in loco*. It is called *mongsāa* by the Cree Indians; and, it should seem, *mongsoos* by the Indians of the neighborhood of Carlton House; as see Richardson, in Sabine’s Appendix to Franklin’s Narrative of a Journey to the Polar Sea, pp. 665–6. “The English,” says Wood, “have some thoughts of keeping him tame, and to accustome him to the yoke; which will be a great commodity. . . . There be not many of these in the Massachusetts Bay; but, forty miles to the north-east, there be great store of them.”—*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. On hunting the moose, as practised by the Indians, see Josselyn’s Voyages, p. 136.

*Moose-horns better for Physick Use than Harts'-horns.*

Their horns are far better, in my opinion, for physick, than the horns of other deer, as being of a stronger nature. As for their claws, which both Englishmen and French make use of for elk, I cannot [20] approve so to be from the effects; having had some trial of it. Besides, all that write of the elk describe him with a tuft of hair on the left leg, behind, a little above the pastern joynt on the outside of the leg, — not unlike the tuft (as I conceive) that groweth upon the breast of a turkie-cock; which I could never yet see upon the leg of a moose, and I have seen some number of them.

*For Children breeding Teeth.*

The Indian webbes make use of the broad teeth of the fawns to hang about their children's neck, when they are breeding of their teeth. The tongue of a grown moose, dried in the smoak after the Indian manner, is a dish for a sagamor.

*The Maccarib.<sup>3</sup>*

The maccarib, caribo, or pohano; a kind of deer, as big as a stag; round-hooved, smooth-hair'd, and soft as silk. Their horns grow backwards along their backs to their rumps, and turn again a handful beyond their nose; having another horn in the middle of their forehead, about half a yard long, — very straight, but [21] wreathed like an unicorn's horn, — of a brown, jettie colour, and very smooth. The creature is nowhere to be found but upon Cape Sable, in the French quarters; and there, too, very rarely; they being not numerous. Some few of their skins and their streight horns are (but very sparingly) brought to the English.

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<sup>3</sup> Wood (N. E. Prospect, *l. c.*) has but two kinds of deer: of which the first is the moose; and the second, called "ordinary deer," and, in the vocabulary of Indian words, *ottuck* (compare *attuck* or *noonatch*, deer, — R. Williams, *l. c.*; but *attek*, in the Cree

*The Fox.*<sup>4</sup>

The fox, which differeth not much from ours, but are somewhat less. A black-fox skin heretofore was wont to be valued at fifty and sixty pound; but now you may have them for twenty shillings. Indeed, there is not any in New England

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dialect, signifies a small sort of rein-deer, — Richardson, in Appendix to Franklin's Journey, p. 665; and it is observable that Rasles' word for *cherreuil* is *norke*), is our American fallow-deer. R. Williams also appears to distinguish with clearness but two; which are, perhaps, the same as Wood's. Josselyn, in this book, passes quite over the common, or fallow-deer: but, making up in the Voyages for the fallings-short of the Rarities, he goes, in the former, quite the other way; reckoning the roe, buck, red deer, rein-deer, elk, *maurouse*, and *maccarib*. What is further said of these animals, where he speaks more at large, makes it appear likely that the second, third, and fourth names, so far as they have any value, belong to a single kind, — the "ordinary deer" of Wood (whose description possibly helped Josselyn's), or our fallow-deer; to which the "roe" is also to be referred: and the "elk" he himself explains as the moose. But, beside these two kinds, Josselyn has the merit of indicating, with some distinctness, one, or possibly two, others, — the *maurouse* and the *maccarib*. The *maurouse* — of which only the Voyages make mention — "is somewhat like a moose; but his horns are but small, and himself about the size of a stag. These are the deer that the flat-footed wolves hunt after." — *Voyages*, p. 91. This is to be compared with the *mauroos*, rendered "*cerf*," of Rasles' Dict., *l. c.*, p. 382; and, in such connection, is hardly referable to other than the *caribou*, or reindeer, — a well-known inhabitant of the north-eastern parts of New England, and likely, therefore, to have come to the knowledge of our author; while there seems to be no testimony to its ever having occurred in Massachusetts and southward, where Wood and Williams made their observations. The last, or the *maccarib*, *caribo*, or *pohano*, of Josselyn, is described above; and, in the Voyages (p. 91), he only repeats that it "is not found, that ever I heard yet, but upon Cape Sable, near to the French plantations." The "round" hoofs of the *maccarib* might lead us to take this for the *caribou* of Maine; the round track of which differs much from that of the fallow-deer. But the former is more likely to have been the American elk; so rare, it should seem, where it occurred, when our author wrote, and so little known in the New-England settlements, that his fancy, fed by darkling hearsay, could deck it with the honors of the "unicorn."

<sup>4</sup> "There are two or three kinds of them, — one a great yellow fox; another grey, who will climb up into trees. The black fox is of much esteem." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 82; where is also an account of the way of hunting foxes in New England. Wood has nothing special, but that some of the foxes "be black. Their furs is of much esteem" (*l. c.*). Williams (*l. c.*) has "*mishquashim*, a red fox; *peguawus*, a gray fox. The Indians say they have black foxes, which they have often seen, but never could take any of them. They say they are manittooes." Beside the common red fox, or *mishquashim*, we have in all these accounts — and also in Morell's *Nova Anglia*, *l. c.*, p. 129 — mention of a black fox; which may have been the true black or silver fox, or, in part at least, the more common cross-fox (Aud. and Bachm., Viv. Quadr. N. A., p. 45); the pelt of which is also in high esteem. For Williams's gray fox, see the next note. Josselyn's climbing gray fox is perhaps the fisher (*Mustela Canadensis*, Schreb.), notwithstanding the color. According to Audubon (*l. c.*, pp. 51, 310, 315), this is called the black fox in New England and the northern counties of New York. I have heard it more often called black cat in New Hampshire.



that are perfectly black, but silver-hair'd; that is, sprinkled with grey hairs.

### *The Jaccal.*<sup>5</sup>

The jaccal is a creature that hunts the lion's prey,—a shrew'd sign that there are lions upon the continent. There are those that are yet living in the countrey that do constantly affirm, that, about six or seven and thirty years since, an Indian [22] shot a young lion,<sup>6</sup> sleeping upon the body of an oak blown up by the roots, with an arrow, not far from Cape Anne, and sold the skin to the English. But, to say something of the jaccal, they are ordinarily less than foxes, of the colour of a gray rabbit, and do not scent nothing near so strong as a fox. Some of the Indians will eat of them. Their grease is good for all that fox-grease is good for, but weaker. They are very numerous.

### *The Hare.*<sup>7</sup>

The hare, in New England, is no bigger than our English rabbits; of the same colour, but withall having yellow and black strokes down the ribs. In winter they are milk-white; and, as the spring approacheth, they come to their colour

<sup>5</sup> "A creature much like a fox, but smaller." — *Voyages*, p. 83. Probably the gray fox, called *pequawus* by R. Williams (*Vulpes Virginianus*, Schreb.); which has not the rank smell of the red fox. — *Aud. and Bachm.*, l. c., p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> "They told me of a young lyon (not long before) kill'd at Piscataway by an Indian." — *Voyages*, p. 23. Higginson says that lions "have been seen at Cape Anne." — *New-Eng. Plantation*, l. c., p. 119. "Some affirm," says Wood, "that they have seen a lion at Cape Anne. . . . Besides, Plimouth men" (that is, men of old Plymouth, it is likely) "have traded for lion-skins in former times. But sure it is that there be lions on that continent; for the Virginians saw an old lion in their plantation," &c. — *New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. The animal here spoken of may well have been the puma or cougar, or American lion.

<sup>7</sup> "The rabbits be much like ours in England. The hares be some of them white, and a yard long. These two harmless creatures are glad to shelter themselves from the harmful foxes in hollow trees; having a hole at the entrance no bigger than they can creep in at." — *Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. Wood's rabbit and Josselyn's hare, so far as the summer coloring goes, appear to be the gray rabbit (*Lepus sylvaticus*, Aud. and Bachm., l. c., p. 173); and the white hare of Wood—as also, probably, the hare, "milk-white in winter," of Josselyn—is doubtless the northern hare (*Lepus Americanus*, Erxl., Aud. and Bachm., l. c., p. 93).



When the snow lies upon the ground, they are very bitter with feeding upon the bark of spruce and the like.<sup>8</sup>

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[23] THIRDLY, OF FISHES.<sup>9</sup>

Pliny and Isadore write, there are not above a hundred and forty-four kinds of fishes; but, to my knowledge, there are nearer three hundred. I suppose America was not known to Pliny and Isadore.

*A Catalogue of Fish; that is, of those that are to be seen between the English Coast and America, and those proper to the Countrey.*

Alderling.

*Alize*, alewife (because great-bellied), *olafle*, oldwife, allow.<sup>1</sup>

Anchova, or sea-minnow.

*Aleport*.

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<sup>8</sup> The Voyages mention, beside the quadrupeds above named, also the skunk (*ségankoo* of Rasles' Dict., l. c.); the musquash (*mooskooéssoo* of Rasles, l. c.), for which see also p. 53 of this; otter; marten, "as ours are in England, but blacker;" sable, "much of the size of a matrise, perfect black, but . . . I never saw but two of them in eight years' space;" the squirrel, "three sorts,—the mouse-squirrel, the gray squirrel, and the flying-squirrel (called by the Indian *assapanick*)." Our author's mouse-squirrel, which he describes, is the ground or striped squirrel: probably the "*anequus*, a little coloured squirrel" of R. Williams, l. c.; and the *anikoosess* (rendered *suisse*) of Rasles, l. c. The matrise of our author is, according to him, "a creature whose head and fore-parts is shaped somewhat like a lyon's; not altogether so big as a house-cat. They are innumerable up in the countrey, and are esteemed good furr."—*Voyages*, p. 87. The sable is compared with the matrise, at least in size; and the name is perhaps comparable with *mattegooéssoo* of Rasles, l. c.; but this is rendered *lièvre*. Wood adds to this list of our quadrupeds, mistakenly, the ferret; and R. Williams, the "*ockquitchaun-nug*,—a wild beast of a reddish hair, about the bigness of a pig, and rooting like a pig;" which seems to answer, in name as well as habits, to our woodchuck, or ground-hog.

<sup>9</sup> The author's attempt here at a general catalogue of the fishes, mollusks, &c., of the North-Atlantic Ocean, affords but a poor make-shift for such a list as we might fairly have expected from him of the species known to the early fishermen in the waters and seas of New England: and the account in his *Voyages* (pp. 104–15) is again an improvement on the present, and is confined to the inhabitants of our waters. I have printed the names of such species, in the following list, as the author (either in this book or in his *Voyages*) attributes to New England, in *Italics*. Beyond this, the present editor has little to offer in elucidation of the list; which indeed, in good part, appears sufficiently intelligible. Compare Wood, *New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. x.

<sup>1</sup> "Like a herrin, but has a bigger bellie; therefore called an alewife."—*Voyages*, p. 107. The other names, *alize* and *allow*, are doubtless corruptions of the French

*Albicare.*<sup>2</sup>

Barble.

*Barracha.**Barracoutha*, a fish peculiar to the West Indies.<sup>3</sup>

Barsticle.

*Basse.*<sup>4</sup>

Sea-bishop, proper to the Norway seas.

[24] River bleak or bley, a river-swallow.

Sea bleak or bley, or sea-camelion.

*Blew-fish*, or hound-fish, two kinds, —speckled hound-fish and blew hound-fish (called horse-fish<sup>5</sup>).*Bonito*, or dozada, or Spanish dolphin.<sup>6</sup>

River-bream.

*Sea-bream.*<sup>7</sup>

Cud-bream.

*Bullhead*, or Indian muscle.

River-bulls.

*Bur-fish.*

Burret.

Cackarel, or laxe.

Calemarie, or sea-clerk.

*Catfish.*<sup>8</sup>

Carp.

Chare, a fish proper to the river Wimander in Lancashire.

Sea-chough.

Chub, or chevin.

*Cony-fish.**Clam*, or clamp.<sup>9</sup>

Sea-cob.

*alose*, also in use among London fishmongers to designate shad from certain waters. — *Rees's Cyc.*, *in loco*. The old Latin word *alosa*, supposed to have been always applied to the fish just mentioned, is adopted by Cuvier for the genus which includes our shad, alewife, and menhaden.

<sup>2</sup> The tunny is so called on the coast of New England. — *Storer's Report on the Fishes of Mass.*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> It is, notwithstanding, set down in the author's list of fishes "that are to be seen and catch'd in the sea and fresh waters in New England." — *Voyages*, p. 113. And compare Storer, *Synops.* (Mem. Am. Acad., N. S., vol. ii.), p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> See *Voyages*, p. 108. The first settlers esteemed the bass above most other fish. See Higginson's *New-England's Plantation* (Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 120). Wood calls it (New-Eng. Prospect, chap. ix.) "one of the best fish in the country; and though men are soon wearied with other fish, yet are they never with bass. The Indians," he says, eat lobsters, "when they can get no bass." The head was especially prized; as see Wood, and also Roger Williams's *Key* (Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 224). The fish is our striped bass (*Labrax lineatus*, Cuv.; *Storer's Report on Fishes of Mass.*, p. 7). Our author, at p. 37, again mentions it as one of the eight fishes which "the Indians have in greatest request."

<sup>5</sup> See p. 96 as to the blue-fish, or horse-mackerel; and Storer, *l. c.*, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> The bonito of our fishermen is the skipjack. — *Storer, l. c.*, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 96. Josselyn's character of the fish as food is confirmed by Dr. Storer, *l. c.*, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> The clam is one of the eight fishes mentioned at p. 37 as most prized by the Indians. "*Sickishuog* (clams). This is a sweet kind of shell-fish, which all Indians generally over the country, winter and summer, delight in; and, at low water, the women dig for them. This fish, and the natural liquor of it, they boil; and it makes their

<i>Cockes</i> or <i>coccles</i> , or coquil. <sup>1</sup>	Dace, dare or dart.
Cook-fish.	<i>Sea-dart</i> , <i>javelins</i> .
<i>Rock-cod</i> .	<i>Dog-fish</i> , or tubarone.
<i>Sea-cod</i> , or sea-whiting. <sup>2</sup>	<i>Dolphin</i> .
[25] <i>Crab</i> , divers kinds; as, the	Dorce.
sea-crab, boat-fish, river-crab,	Dorrie (goldfish).
sea-lion, &c.	Golden-eye, gilt-pole or godline,
<i>Sea-cucumber</i> .	yellow-heads.
Cunger, or sea-eel.	Sea-dragon, or sea-spider, quavi-
<i>Cunner</i> , or sea-roach.	ner.
Cur.	Drum, a fish frequent in the West
Currier, post, or lacquey of the	Indies.
sea.	<i>Sea-emperour</i> , or <i>sword-fish</i> .
Cramp-fish, or torpedo.	<i>Eel</i> , of which divers kinds. <sup>3</sup>
Cuttle, or sleeves, or sea-angler.	Sea-elephant. The leather of this
Clupea, the tunnic's enemy.	fish will never rot; excellent
Sea-cornet.	for thongs.
Cornuta, or horned fish.	Ears of the sea.

broth and their nasaump (which is a kind of thickened broth) and their bread seasonable and savoury, instead of salt."—*Williams's Key*, &c., l. c., p. 224. "These fishes be in great plenty in most parts of the country: which is a great commodity for the feeding of swine, both in winter and summer; for, being once used to those places, they will repair to them as duly, every ebb, as if they were driven to them by keepers."—*Wood, N. Eng. Prospect*, l. c. The mollusk thus approved is the common clam (*Mya arenaria*, L.); but the *poquauhock*, or quahog (*Venus mercenaria*, L.), "which the Indians wade deep and dive for" (R. Williams, l. c., p. 224), was also eaten by them, and the black part of the shell used for making their *suckauhock*, or black money. Wood speaks also of "clams as big as a penny white loaf, which are great dainties amongst the natives" (N. E. Prospect, l. c.); doubtless the giant clam (*Mactra solidissima*, Chemn.) of Gould (Report on Invertebr. of Mass., p. 51), which is still esteemed as food.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 36; by which it appears that the author has in view the *meteauhock* of the Indians; "the periwinkle, of which they make their *wompam*, or white money, of half the value of their *suckauhock*, or black money" (R. Williams, l. c.): supposed to be *Buccinum undatum*, L. (Gould, l. c., p. 305); and possibly, also, one or two other allied shell-fish.

<sup>2</sup> "Cod-fish in these seas" (that is, Massachusetts Bay) "are larger than in Newfoundland,—six or seven making a quintal; whereas they have fifteen to the same weight."—*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c. Compare Storer, l. c., p. 121. Josselyn has an entertaining account of the sea-fishery, in his *Voyages*, pp. 210–13.

<sup>3</sup> See further of eels, and the author's several ways of cooking them, in his *Voyages*, p. 111. At p. 37 of the *Rarities*, eels are mentioned among the fishes most prized by the Indians. "These eels be not of so luscious a taste as they be in England, neither are they so aguish; but are both wholesome for the body, and delightful for the taste."—*Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. ix.

*Flayl-fish.*

[26] *Flounder*, or flook: the young ones are called dabs.

Sea-flounder, or flowre.

Sea-fox.

Frog-fish.

*Frost-fish*.<sup>4</sup>

Frutola, a broad, plain fish, with a tail like a half-moon.

*Sea-flea*.

Gally-fish.

*Grandpiss*,<sup>5</sup> or herring-hog. This, as all fish of extraordinary size, are accounted regal fishes.

Grayling.

Greedigut.

Groundling.

Gudgin.

Gulf.

Sea-grape.

Gull.

Gurnard.

*Hake*.

Haccele, or sticklebacks.

*Haddock*.

*Horse-foot*, or asses'-hoof.

*Herring*.

*Hallibut*, or sea-pheasant. Some will have the turbut all one: others distinguish [27] them; calling the young fish of the first, buttis; and, of the other, birt. There is no question to be made of it but that they are distinct kinds of fish.<sup>6</sup>

*Sea-hare*.<sup>7</sup>

Sea-hawk.

Hart-fish.

Sea-hermit.

*Hen-fish*.

Sea-hind.

Hornbeak, sea-ruff, and reeves.

Sea-horseman.

*Hog* or *flying fish*.

Sea-kite, or flying swallow.

Lampret, or lamprel.

*Lampreys*, or lamprones.<sup>8</sup>

*Limpin*.

Ling (sea-beef): the smaller sort is called *cusk*.

Sea-lanthorn.

*Sea-liver*.

*Lobster*.<sup>9</sup>

Sea-lizard.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 37, where it is said to be one of the fishes which "the Indians have in greatest request." — "*Poponaumsuog*" of R. Williams, *l. c.*, p. 225. He says, "Some call them frost-fish, from their coming up from the sea into fresh brooks in times of frost and snow."

<sup>5</sup> "Grampoise; Fr. *grandpoisson*;" corrupted grampus. — *Webster, Dict.*

<sup>6</sup> "These hollibut be little set by while bass is in season." — *Wood, l. c.*, chap. ix.

<sup>7</sup> "The sea-hare is as big as grampus, or herrin-hog; and as white as a sheet. There hath been of them in Black-Point Harbour, and some way up the river; but we could never take any of them. Several have shot slugs at them, but lost their labour." — *Voyages*, p. 105. The *Lepus marinus* of the old writers is a naked mollusk of the Mediterranean; *Laplysia depilans*, L.: but Josselyn's was a very different animal.

<sup>8</sup> One of the fishes most valued by the Indians (p. 37); but "not much set by" by the English, according to *Wood, l. c.*

<sup>9</sup> "I have seene some myselfe that have weighed 16 pound; but others have had, divers times, so great lobsters as have weighed 25 pound, as they assure me." — *Hig-*

Sea-locusts.

*Lump*, poddle, or sea-owl.

Lanter.

Lux, peculiar to the river Rhyne.

Sea-lights.

[28] *Luna*, a very small fish, but exceeding beautiful; broad-bodied, and blewish of colour.

When it swims, the fins make a circle like the moon.

*Mayeril*.

*Maid*.

Manatee.

*Mola*, a fish like a lump of flesh, taken in the Venetian Sea.

Miller's-thumb, mulcet or pollard.

Molefish.

Minnow, called likewise a pink.

The same name is given to young salmon. It is called also a witlin.

*Monke-fish*.<sup>1</sup>

*Morse*, river or sea horse.<sup>2</sup>

Fresh-water mullet.

*Sea-mullet*. Botargo, or petargo, is made of their spawn.

*Muscle*, divers kinds.<sup>3</sup>

Navel-fish.

*Nunfish*.

Needlefish.

Sea-nettle.

*Oyster*.<sup>4</sup>

Occulata.

*Perch*, or river-partridge.

*Pollack*.

[29] *Piper*, or gave-fish.

*Periwig*.

*Perriwinkle*, or sea-snail, or whelk.

*Pike*, or fresh-water wolf, or river-wolf (luce and lucerne), which is an overgrown pike.

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*ginson's New-Eng. Plantation*, l. c., p. 120; with which compare Gould's Report, &c., p. 360. "Their plenty makes them little esteemed, and seldom eaten." — *Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. ix. At p. 37, Josselyn counts them among the fishes, &c., most esteemed by the Indians; but Wood (l. c.) qualifies this in a passage already cited. The Indians, it seems, sometimes dried them, "as they do lampres and oysters; which are delicate breakfast-meat so ordered." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 110. See the Indian way of catching lobsters, in *Voyages*, p. 140.

<sup>1</sup> "Munk-fish, a flat-fish like scate; having a hood like a fryer's cowl" (p. 96). *Lophius Americanus*, Cuv., the sea-devil of Storer (*Synops. of Amer. Fishes*, in *Mem. Amer. Acad.*, N. S., vol. ii. p. 381), is called monk-fish in Maine. — *Williamson, Hist.*, vol. i. p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> "The muscle is of two sorts, — sea-muscles (in which they find pearl) and river-muscles." — *Voyages*, p. 110. See p. 37, of the present volume, for an account of "the scarlet muscle," which . . . yieldeth a perfect purple or scarlet juice; dying linnen so that no washing will wear it out," &c. This could scarcely have been a purpura or buccinum.

<sup>4</sup> See *Voyages*, p. 110. "The oysters be great ones," says Wood; "in form of a shoe-horn: some be a foot long. These breed on certain banks that are bare every spring-tide." — *New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. ix. This was in the waters of Massachusetts Bay, where Higginson (*New-Eng. Plantation*, l. c., p. 120) also speaks of their being found. The question whether the oyster is an indigenous inhabitant of our bay, or only an introduced stranger, is considered by Dr. Gould (*Report on Invert. Animals of Mass.*, pp. 135, 365).



Pilchard. When they are dried,  
as red herrings, they are called  
fumadoes.

*Pilot-fish.*

*Plaice*, or sea-sparrow.

Polipe, or pour-control.

*Porpuise*, or porpiss, molebut, sea-  
hog, *Sus marinus*, tursion.

Priest-fish, or sea-priest.

*Prawn*, or crangone.

Punger.

Patella.

Powt (the feathered fish), or fork-  
fish.

River-powt.

Purse-fish, or Indian *reversus*, like  
an eel; having a skin on the  
hinder part of her head like a  
purse with strings, which will  
open and shut.

Parrat-fish.

*Purple-fish.*

*Porgee.*

*Remora*, or suck-stone, or stop-  
ship.

*Sea-raven.*

[30] Roch, or roach.

Rochet, or rouget.

Ruff, or pope.

Sea-ram.

*Salmon*.<sup>5</sup>

*Sail-fish.*

*Scallope*, or Venus-coccle.

*Scate*, or ray, or gristle-fish, of  
which divers kinds; as sharp-  
snowted ray, rock-ray, &c.

*Shad*.<sup>6</sup>

Shallow.

Sharpling.

*Spurling.*

*Sculpin.*

Sheep's-head.<sup>7</sup>

Soles, or tongue-fish, or sea-capon,  
or sea-partridge.

*Seal*, or soil, or zeal.<sup>8</sup>

Sea-calf, and (as some will have  
it) molebut.

*Sheath-fish*.<sup>9</sup>

Sea-scales.

*Sturgeon.* Of the roe of this fish  
they make caviare, or cavial-  
tie.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> One of the fishes "in greatest request" among the Indians (p. 37). Wood says it  
"is as good as it is in England, and in great plenty in some places." — *New-Eng. Pros-  
pect*, chap. ix.

<sup>6</sup> "The shads be bigger than the English shads, and fatter." — *Wood, l. c.*

<sup>7</sup> "*Tant-aug* (sheep's-heads)." So Roger Williams's *Key, l. c.*, p. 224. It is pro-  
bable, therefore, that our author had the fish that we call tantog in his mind here.  
What is now called sheep's-head is not known in Massachusetts Bay and northward. —  
*Storer, l. c.*, p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 34; and *Wood, l. c.*, chap. ix.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 96. It appears to be the mollusk, the shell of which is well known as the  
razor-shell (*Solen ensis, L.*). — *Gould, Report*, p. 28.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 32. "The sturgeons be all over the country; but the best catching of  
them is upon the shoals of Cape Cod and in the river of Merrimack, where much is  
taken, pickled, and brought to England. Some of these be 12, 14, and 18 feet long." —  
*Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. ix. R. Williams says that "the natives, for the  
goodness and greatness of it, much prize it; and will neither furnish the English with



*Shark*, or bunch ; several kinds.<sup>2</sup>

*Smelt*.

*Snaccot*.

[31] *Shrimp*.

*Spy-fish*.

*Spite-fish*.

*Sprat*.

*Sponge-fish*.

*Squill*.

*Squid*.<sup>3</sup>

*Sun-fish*.

*Star-fish*.<sup>4</sup>

*Sword-fish*.

*Tench*.

*Thornback*, or Neptune's beard.

*Thunnie*. They cut the fish in pieces like shingles, and powder it ; and this they call melan-dria.

*Sea-toad*.

*Tortoise*, tortoise, tortuga, tortisse, turele, or *turtle*, of divers kinds.<sup>5</sup>

*Trout*.<sup>6</sup>

*Turbut*.<sup>7</sup>

*Sea-tun*.

*Sea-tree*.

*Uraniscopus*.

*Ulatife*, or *saw-fish* ; having a saw in his forehead three foot long, and very sharp.

*Umber*.

*Sea-urchin*. [ros.]

[32] *Sea-unicorn*, or sea-monoce-

*Whale*, many kinds.<sup>8</sup>

*Whiting*, or *merling*. The young ones are called *weerlings* and *mops*.

*Whore*.<sup>9</sup>

*Yard-fish*, or *shame-fish*.

so many, nor so cheap, that any great trade is like to be made of it, until the English themselves are fit to follow the fishing." — *Key*, l. c., p. 224. It is one of Josselyn's eight fish which are in "greatest request" with the Indians (p. 37). He calls "Pechips-cut" River, in Maine, "famous for multitudes of mighty large sturgeon." — *Voyages*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> See *Voyages*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>3</sup> "This fish is much used for bait to catch a cod, hacke, polluck, and the like sea-fish." — *Voyages*, p. 107. It is still so used.

<sup>4</sup> Described at p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 34 of this, and p. 109 of the *Voyages*, where the author says, "Of sea-turtles, there are five sorts; of land-turtles, three sorts, — one of which is a right land-turtle, that seldom or never goes into the water; the other two being the river-turtle and the pond-turtle." — See also the author's observations on sea-turtles, at p. 39 of the *Voyages*.

<sup>6</sup> "Trouts there be good store in every brook; ordinarily two and twenty inches long. Their grease is good for the piles and clifts." — *Voyages*, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> See Storer's Report, p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 35; and *Voyages*, p. 104. "The natives cut them in several parcel, and give and send them far and near for an acceptable present or dish." — *R. Williams*, *Key*, l. c., p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> See *Voyages*, p. 110. This is the common sea-egg; *Echinus granulatus*, Say. — *Gould's Rep.*, p. 344.

*The Sturgeon.*

The sturgeon; of whose sounds is made isinglass,—a kind of glew much used in physick. This fish is here in great plenty, and in some rivers so numerous that it is hazardous for canoes and the like small vessels to pass to and again; as in Pechipscut River to the eastward.

*The Cod.*

The cod, which is a staple commodity in the country.

*To stop Fluxes of Blood.*

In the head of this fish is found a stone, or rather a bone, which, being pulveriz'd and drank in any convenient liquor, will stop women's overflowing courses notably. Likewise,—

[33] *For the Stone.*

There is a stone found in their bellies, in a bladder against their navel; which, being pulveriz'd and drank in white-wine posset, or ale, is present remedy for the stone.

*To heal a Green Cut.*

About their fins you may find a kind of lowse, which healeth a green cut in short time.

*To restore them that have melted their Grease.*

Their livers and sounds, eaten, is a good medicine for to restore them that have melted their grease.

*The Dog-fish.*

The dog-fish, a ravenous fish.

*For the Toothach.*

Upon whose back grows a thorn, two or three inches long, that helps the toothach; scarifying the gums therewith.

Their skins are good to cover boxes and instrument-cases.

[34] *The Stingray.*

The stingray, a large fish, of a rough skin; good to cover boxes, and hafts of knives and rapier-sticks.

*The Tortous.*

The turtle, or tortous, of which there are three kinds.  
1. The land-turtle: they are found in dry, sandy banks, under old houses; and never go into the water.

*For the Ptisick, Consumption, and Morbus Gallicus.*

They are good for the ptisick and consumptions, and, some say, the morbus gallicus.

2. The river-turtle, which are venomous, and stink.

3. The turtle, that lives in lakes, and is called in Virginia a terrapine.

*The Soile.*

The soile, or sea-calf, a creature that brings forth her young ones upon dry land; but, at other times, keeps in the sea, preying upon fish.

[35] *For Scalds and Burns, and for the Mother.*

The oyl of it is much used by the Indians, who eat of it with their fish, and anoint their limbs therewith, and their wounds and sores. It is very good for scalds and burns; and the fume of it, being cast upon coals, will bring women out of the mother-fits. The hair upon the young ones is white, and as soft as silk. Their skins, with the hair on, are good to make gloves for the winter.

*The Sperma-ceti Whale.*

The sperma-ceti whale differeth from the whales that yield us whale-bones: for the first hath great and long teeth; the other is nothing but bones, with tassels hanging from their jaws, with which they suck in their prey.

*What Sperma-ceti is.*

It is not long since a sperma-ceti whale or two were cast upon the shore, not far from Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay; which, being cut into small pieces and boiled in cauldrons, yielded plenty of oyl. The oyl, put up into hogshheads and stow'd into cellars for some time, candies at the [36] bottom, — it may be one-quarter: then the oyl is drawn off; and the candied stuff, put up into convenient vessels, is sold for sperma-ceti, and is right sperma-ceti.

*For Bruises and Aches.*

The oyl that was drawn off candies again and again, if well ordered; and is admirable for bruises and aches.

*What Ambergreece is.*

Now, you must understand this whale feeds upon ambergreece; as is apparent, finding it in the whale's maw in great quantity, but altered and excrementitious. I conceive that ambergreece is no other than a kind of mushroom, growing at the bottom of some seas. I was once shewed, by a mariner, a piece of ambergreece, having a root to it like that of the land mushroom; which the whale breaking up, some scape his devouring paunch, and is afterwards cast upon shore.

*The Coccle.<sup>1</sup>*

A kind of coccle, of whose shell the Indians make their beads called wompampeag and mohaicks. The first are white; the other, blew: both orient, and beau[37]tified with a purple vein. The white beads are very good to stanch blood.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 24 and note.

*The Scarlet Muscle.*

The scarlet muscle. At Paschataway (a plantation about fifty leagues by sea eastward from Boston), in a small cove called Baker's Cove, there is found this kind of muscle, which hath a purple vein; which, being prickt with a needle, yieldeth a perfect purple or scarlet juice; dying linnen so that no washing will wear it out, but keeps its lustre many years. We mark our handkerchiefs and shirts with it.<sup>2</sup>

*Fish of greatest Esteem in the West Indies.*

The Indians of Peru esteem of three fishes more than any other; viz., the sea-tortoise, the tubaron, and the manate,<sup>3</sup> or sea-cow: but, in New England, the Indians have in greatest request the bass, the sturgeon, the salmon, the lamprey, the eel, the frost-fish, the lobster, and the clam.

<sup>2</sup> Our author's account of the fishes of New England may take this of old Wood (N. E. Prospect, *l. c.*) for a tail-piece. "The chief fish for trade," says he, "is a cod; but, for the use of the country, there is all manner of fish, as followeth:—

"The king of waters,—the sea-shouldering Whale;  
 The snuffing Grampus, with the oily seal;  
 The storm-presaging Porpus, Herring-hog;  
 Line-shearing Shark, the Cat-fish, and Sea-dog;  
 The scale-fenced Sturgeon; wry-mouthed Hollibut;  
 The flouncing Salmon, Codfish, Greedigut;  
 Cole, Haddick, Hake, the Thornback, and the Scate,  
 (Whose slimy outside makes him seld' in date;)  
 The stately Bass, old Neptune's fleeting post,  
 That tides it out and in from sea to coast;  
 Consorting Herrings, and the bony Shad;  
 Big-bellied Alewives; Mackreels richly clad  
 With rainbow-colour, the Frost-fish and the Smelt,  
 As good as ever Lady Gustus felt;  
 The spotted Lamprons; Eels; the Lamperies,  
 That seek fresh-water brooks with Argus-eyes:  
 These watery villagers, with thousands more,  
 Do pass and repass near the verdant shore."

<sup>3</sup> See p. 97.

[38] FOURTHLY, OF SERPENTS AND INSECTS.<sup>4</sup>*The Pond-Frog.*<sup>5</sup>

The pond-frog, which chirp in the spring like sparrows, and croke like toads in autumn. Some of these, when they set upon their breech, are a foot high. The Indians will tell you, that, up in the country, there are pond-frogs as big as a child of a year old.

*For Burns, Scalds, and Inflammations.*

They are of a glistering brass colour, and very fat; which is excellent for burns and scaldings, to take out the fire and heal them, leaving no scar; and is also very good to take away any inflammation.

*The Rattle-Snake.*<sup>6</sup>

The rattle-snake, who poysons with a vapour that comes thorough two crooked fangs in their mouth. The hollow of these fangs are as black as ink. The Indians, when weary

<sup>4</sup> The account in the Voyages (pp. 114–23) is better; and Wood's, in New-England's Prospect, chap. xi. (to which last, Josselyn was possibly indebted), far better.

<sup>5</sup> See "the generating of these creatures," in Voyages, p. 119. "Here, likewise," says Wood, "be great store of frogs, which, in the spring, do chirp and whistle like a bird; and, at the latter end of summer, croak like our English frogs." — *N. Eng. Prospect*, l. c. In his Voyages, Josselyn speaks (as Wood had done) of the tree-toad, and also of another kind of toad; and of "the eft, or swift, . . . a most beautiful creature to look upon; being larger than ours, and painted with glorious colours: but I lik'd him never the better for it" (p. 119).

<sup>6</sup> Wood's account (*New-Eng. Prospect*, l. c.) is worth comparing with Higginson's (*New-England's Plantation*, l. c.) and with Josselyn's, both here and at pp. 23 and 114 of the Voyages. Wood justly says of this "most poisonous and dangerous creature," that it is "nothing so bad as the report goes of him. . . . He is naturally," he continues, "the most sleepy and unnimble creature that lives; never offering to leap or bite any man, if he be not trodden on first: and it is their desire, in hot weather, to lie in paths where the sun may shine on them; where they will sleep so soundly, that I have known four men stride over them, and never awake her. . . . Five or six men," he adds, "have been bitten by them; which, by using of snake-weed" (compare the preface to this, p. 119), "were all cured; never any yet losing his life by them. Cows



with travelling, will [39] take them up with their bare hands; laying hold with one hand behind their head, with the other taking hold of their tail; and, with their teeth, tear off the skin of their backs, and feed upon them alive; which, they say, refresheth them.

*For Frozen Limbs, Aches, and Bruises.*

They have leafs of fat in their bellies; which is excellent to annoint frozen limbs, and, for aches and bruises, wondrous sovereign. Their hearts, swallowed fresh, is a good antidote against their venome; and their liver (the gall taken out), bruised and applied to their bitings, is a present remedy.

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have been bitten; but, being cut in divers places, and this weed thrust into their flesh, were cured. I never heard of any beast that was yet lost by any of them, saving one mare" (*l. c.*). Of other serpents, Wood mentions the black snake; and Josselyn, in his *Voyages* (*l. c.*), speaks of "infinite numbers, of various colours;" and especially of "one sort that exceeds all the rest; and that is the checkquered snake, having as many colours within the checkquers shadowing one another as there are in a rainbow." He says again, "The water-snake will be as big about the belly as the calf of a man's leg;" which is, perhaps, the water-adder. Josselyn adds, "I never heard of any mischief that snakes did" (*l. c.*); and so Wood: "Neither doth any other kind of snakes" (the rattle-snake always excepted, as no doubt dangerous when trodden on) "molest either man or beast." There are perhaps no worse prejudices, in common life, than those which breed cruelty. In the *Voyages* (p. 23), our author makes mention "of a sea-serpent, or snake, that lay quailed up like a cable upon a rock at Cape Ann. A boat passing by with English aboard, and two Indians, they would have shot the serpent: but the Indians dissuaded them; saying, that, if he were not kill'd outright, they would be all in danger of their lives." This was from "some neighbouring gentlemen in our house, who came to welcome me into the countrey;" and it seems, that, "amongst variety of discourse, they told me also of a young lyon (not long before) killed at Piscataway by an Indian;" which, indeed, was possibly not without foundation. And as to the serpent, compare a Report of a Committee of the Linnæan Society of New England relative to a large marine animal, supposed to be a serpent, seen near Cape Ann, Mass., in August, 1817 (Boston, 1817); which contains also a full account of a smaller animal—supposed not to differ, even in species, from the large—which was taken on the rocks of Cape Ann.—See also Storer, Report on the Reptiles of Mass.; Supplement, p. 410.

OF INSECTS.<sup>7</sup>*A Bug.*

There is a certain kind of bug like a beetle, but of a glistering brass colour, with four strong, tinsel wings. Their bodies are full of corruption, or white matter like a maggot. Being dead, and kept awhile, they will stench odiously. They beat the humming-birds from the flowers.

[40] *The Wasp.*

The wasps in this countrey are pied; black and white; breed in hives made like a great pine-apple. Their entrance is at the lower end. The whole hive is of an ash colour; but of what matter it's made, no man knows. Wax it is not: neither will it melt nor fry; but will take fire suddenly, like tinder. This they fasten to a bow, or build it round about a low bush, a foot from the ground.

*The Flying Glowworm.*

The flying glowworm; flying, in dark summer nights, like sparks of fire in great number. They are common, likewise, in Palestina.

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<sup>7</sup> The author continues his entomological observations, in his *Voyages*, p. 115; and the account is fuller than Wood's; *New-England's Prospect*, chap. xi.

## [41] FIFTHLY, OF PLANTS.

*And, 1. Of such Plants as are Common with us in England.*

Hedgehog grass.<sup>8</sup>

Mattweed.<sup>9</sup>

Cat's-tail.<sup>1</sup>

Stichwort, commonly taken here, by ignorant people, for eye-bright. It blows in June.<sup>2</sup>

Blew Flower-de-luce. The roots are not knobby, but long and streight, and very white; with a multitude of strings.<sup>3</sup>

*To provoke Vomit, and for Bruises.*

It is excellent for to provoke vomiting, and for bruises on the feet or face. They flower in June, and grow upon dry, sandy hills, as well as in low, wet grounds.

<sup>8</sup> Gerard by Johnson, p. 17, — *Carex flava*, L.; the first species of this genus indicated in North America, and common also to Europe. There is no doubt of the reference, taking Josselyn's name to be meant for specific, and to refer to Gerard's first figure with the same name. But it is certainly possible that our author had in view only a general reference to Gerard's fourteenth chapter, "Of Hedgehog Grasse," which brings together plants of very different genera; and, in this case, his name is of little account. Cutler (Account of Indig. Veg., l. c., 1785) mentions three genera of *Cyperaceæ*, but not *Carex*; nor did he ever publish that description of our true *Gramineæ* "and other native grasses," which, he says (l. c., p. 407), "may be the subject of another paper." The first edition of Bigelow's *Florula Bostoniensis* (1814) has seven species of *Carex*, which are increased to seventeen in the second edition (1824); the list embracing the most common and conspicuous forms. The genus has since been made an object of special study, and the number of our species, in consequence, greatly increased. A list of Carices of the neighborhood of Boston, published by the present writer in 1841 (Hovey's Mag. Hort.), gives forty-seven species; and Professor Dewey's Report on the Herbaceous Plants of Massachusetts, in 1840, reckons ninety-one species within the limits of his work.

<sup>9</sup> Johnson's Gerard, p. 42, — English matweed, or helme (the other species being excluded, as not English, by our author's caption); which I take to be *Calamagrostis arenaria* (L.) Roth, of Gray, Man., p. 548; called sea-matweed in England, and common to Europe and America. But if the author only intended to refer to Gerard's "Chapter 34, of Mat-weed," — which is perhaps, on the whole, unlikely, — his name is of no value.

<sup>1</sup> Gerard, p. 46, — *Typha latifolia*, L., — common to America and Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard, p. 47, — *Stellaria graminea*, L.; for which our author mistook, as did Cutler a century after, the nearly akin *S. longifolia*, Muhl.

<sup>3</sup> Appears not to be meant for a specific reference to any of Gerard's species; but only an indication of the genus, with the single distinguishing character of color, which

Yellow-bastard daffodil. It flowereth in May. The green leaves are spotted with black spots.<sup>4</sup>

Dogstones, a kind of satyrion; whereof there are several kinds groweth in our salt-marshes.<sup>5</sup>

[42] *To procure Love.*<sup>\*</sup>

I once took notice of a wanton woman's compounding the solid roots of this plant with wine, for an amorous cup; which wrought the desired effect.

Watercresses.<sup>6</sup>

Red lillies grow all over the country innumerable amongst the small bushes, and flower in June.<sup>7</sup>

Wild sorrel.<sup>8</sup>

Adder's-tongue comes not up till June. I have found it upon dry, hilly grounds,—in places where the water hath stood all winter,—in August; and did then make oyntment of the herb new gathered. The fairest leaves grow amongst

was enough to separate the New-England plants from the only British one referred by Gerard to Iris. Both of our blue-flags are peculiar to the country.

<sup>4</sup> Not one of Gerard's bastard daffodils, but his dog's-tooth, p. 204 (*Erythronium*, L.). Our common dog's-tooth was at first taken for a variety of the European, but is now reckoned distinct.

<sup>5</sup> Gerard, p. 205, — *Orchis*, L., etc. It is here clear that the name is used only in a general way. The second name (*Satyrion*), perhaps, however, makes our author's notion a little more definite, and permits us to refer the plants he had probably in view to species of *Platanthera*, Rich. (Gray, Man., p. 444), of which only one is certainly known to be common to us and Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Gerard, em. p. 257, — *Nasturtium officinale*, L. Reckoned also by Cutler, and indeed naturalized in some parts of the country (Gray, Man., p. 30); but our author had probably *N. palustre*, DC. (marsh-cress), if any thing of this genus, and not rather *Cardamine hirsuta*, L. (hairy lady's smock), in his mind. Both the last are common to us and Europe. — *Gray, l. c.*

<sup>7</sup> Gerard, p. 192. *Lilium bulbiferum* (the garden red lily) is meant; for which our author mistook our own red lily (*L. Philadelphicum*, L.).

<sup>8</sup> Of the two plants, — either of which may possibly have been in view of the author here, — the sorrell du bois, or white wood-sorrel of Gerard, p. 1101 (*Oxalis acetosella*, L.), which is truly common to Europe and America, and the sheep's sorrel (Gerard, p. 397, — *Rumex acetosella*, L.), which inhabits, indeed, the whole northern hemisphere, but is taken by Dr. Gray to be a naturalized weed here, I incline to think the latter less likely to have escaped Josselyn's attention than the former, and to be what he means to say appeared to him as native, in 1671. For the yellow wood-sorrel, see farther on.

short hawthorn-bushes, that are plentifully growing in such hollow places.<sup>9</sup>

One-blade.<sup>1</sup>

Lilly convallie, with the yellow flowers, grows upon rocky banks by the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Water-plantane, here called water-suck leaves.<sup>3</sup>

*For Burns and Scalds, and to draw Water out of Swell'd Legs.*

It is much used for burns and scalds, and to draw water out of swell'd legs. Bears feed much upon this plant; so do the moose-deer.

[43] Sea-plantane, three kinds.<sup>4</sup>

Small-water archer.<sup>5</sup>

Autumn bell-flower.<sup>6</sup>

White hellibore, which is the first plant that springs up in this country, and the first that withers. It grows in deep, black mould and wet, in such abundance that you may, in a small compass, gather whole cart-loads of it.<sup>7</sup>

*Wounds and Aches cured by the Indians. . For the Toothach.  
For Herpes Milliaries (sic).*

The Indians cure their wounds with it; annointing the wound first with raccoon's greese or wild-cat's greese, and

<sup>9</sup> Gerard, em., p. 404, — *Ophioglossum vulgatum*, L.; common to us and Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Gerard, em., p. 409, — *Smilacina bifolia* (L.), Ker; common to us and Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard, em., p. 410. A mistake of our author's, which can hardly be set right. The station is against the plant's having been *Smilacina trifolia* (L.), Desf.

<sup>3</sup> *Alisma plantago*, L., common to Europe and America; "called, in New England, water suck-leaves and scurvie-leaves. You must lay them whole to the leggs to draw out water between the skin and the flesh." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 80. As to its medicinal properties, see Gerard, p. 419; and Wood and Bache, *Dispens.*, p. 1293.

<sup>4</sup> *Plantago maritima*, L. (Gerard, p. 423), a native of Europe and America, is our only sea-plantain. One of the others was probably *Triglochin*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sagittaria sagittifolia*, L. (now called arrowhead), common to Europe and America; though here passing into some varieties which are unknown in the European Floras.

<sup>6</sup> *Gentiana saponaria*, L., peculiar to America, but nearly akin to the European *G. pneumonanthe*, L., which our author intended. — *Johnson's Gerard, edit. cit.*, p. 438.

<sup>7</sup> The plant is green hellebore (*Veratrum viride*, Ait.); so near, indeed, to the white hellebore (*V. album*, L.) of Europe, that it was taken for it by Michaux. In his



strewing upon it the powder of the roots: and, for aches, they scarifie the grieved part, and annoint it with one of the foresaid oyls; then strew upon it the powder. The powder of the root, put into a hollow tooth, is good for the toothach. The root, sliced thin and boyled in vineagar, is very good against *herpes milliaris*.

Arsmart, both kinds.<sup>8</sup>

Spurge-time. It grows upon dry, sandy sea-banks; and is very like to rupter-wort. It is full of milk.<sup>9</sup>

Rupter-wort, with the white flower.<sup>1</sup>

Jagged rose-penny-wort.<sup>2</sup>

[44] Soda bariglia, or massacote (the ashes of soda), of which they make glasses.

Glass-wort, here called berrelia. It grows abundantly in salt marshes.<sup>3</sup>

Voyages, the author, after speaking of the use of opium by the Turks, says, "The English in New England take white hellebore, which operates as fairly with them as with the Indians," &c. (p. 60); and see p. 76, further.

<sup>8</sup> *Polygonum lapathifolium*, L. (*Hydropiper* of Gerard, p. 445),—for which, perhaps, *P. hydropiper*, L., was mistaken,—and *P. Persicaria*, L. (*Persicaria maculosa* of Gerard, l. c.), are what the author means; being the two sorts figured by Gerard himself. The third, added by Johnson, is unknown in this country; and the fourth belongs to a very different genus. *P. Persicaria* is marked as introduced in the late Mr. Oakes's catalogue of the plants of Vermont; and both this and *P. hydropiper* are considered to be naturalized weeds by Dr. Gray (Man., p. 373). Josselyn's testimony as to the former, as appearing to him to be native in 1671, is therefore not without interest; and possibly it is not quite worthless as to the latter.

<sup>9</sup> *Chamæsyce*, or spurge-time, of Gerard (*edit. cit.*, p. 504), is *Euphorbia chamæsyce*, L., a species belonging to the Eastern continent; for which Sloane (*cit. L. Sp. pl. in loco*) appears to have mistaken our *Euphorbia maculata*, L.; while Plukenet (*Alm.* 372, *cit. L.*) recognizes the affinity of the same plants, calling the latter *Chamæsyce altera Virginiana*. Josselyn's spurge-time may be *E. maculata*; but quite possibly, taking the station which he gives into the account, *E. polygonifolia*, L.

<sup>1</sup> There are "several sorts of spurge," according to the Voyages (p. 78); of which this, which I cannot specifically refer, is possibly one.

<sup>2</sup> To this species of *Saxifraga*, L., unknown to our *Flora* (Gerard, p. 528), our author, with little doubt, referred the pretty *S. Virginiensis*, Michx.—See p. 58 of this, note.

<sup>3</sup> Gerard, em., p. 535, — *Salicornia herbacea*, L. But Linnæus referred one of Clayton's Virginia specimens (the rest he did not distinguish from *S. herbacea*) to a variety, *β. Virginica* (which he took to be also European; *Sp. Pl.*), and afterwards raised this to a species, as *S. Virginica*, *Syst. Nat.*, vol. ii. p. 52, Willd. *Sp. Pl.*, vol. i. p. 25. To this the more common glasswort of our salt marshes is to be referred; and we pos-



St. John's-wort.<sup>4</sup>

St. Peter's-wort.<sup>5</sup>

Speedwell chick-weed.<sup>6</sup>

Male fluellin, or speedwell.<sup>7</sup>

Upright peniroyal.<sup>8</sup>

Wild mint.<sup>9</sup>

Cat-mint.<sup>1</sup>

Egrimony.<sup>2</sup>

The lesser clot-bur.<sup>3</sup>

sess, beside, a still better representative of the European plant in *S. mucronata*, Bigel. (*Fl. Bost.*, edit. 2, p. 2), which may perhaps best be taken for a peculiar variety (*S. herbacea*,  $\beta$ . *mucronata*, articulorum dentibus squamisque mucronatis, *Enum. Pl. Cantab.*, Ms.; and *S. Virginica* may well be another) of a species common to us and Europe. It is certain that we have plants strictly common to American and European Floras, in which the differences referable to difference of atmospheric and other like conditions are either not apparent or of no account; and it is possible that there are yet other species, now considered peculiar to America, which only differ from older European species in those characters—whether of exuberance mostly, or also of impoverishment—in which an American variety of a plant, common to America and Europe, might beforehand be expected to differ from an European state of the same. “Linnaeus ut Tournefortii errores corrigeret, varietates nimis contraxit.” — *Link, Phil. Bot.*, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Hypericum perforatum*, L. (“*Hypericum*, *S. John's-wort*; in shops, *Perforata*.” — *Gerard*, edit. cit., p. 539). The species is considered to have been introduced, by most American authors; and it is possible that Josselyn had *H. corymbosum*, Muhl., in his mind.

<sup>5</sup> *Hypericum quadrangulum*, L. (*Gerard*, p. 542); for which our author doubtless mistook *H. mutilum*, L. (*H. parviflorum*, Willd.), a species peculiar to America; to which Cutler's *H. quadrangulum* (Account of Indig. Veg., l. c., p. 474) is probably also to be referred.

<sup>6</sup> *Veronica arvensis*, L. (*Gerard*, p. 613), — a native, at present, of Europe, Asia, Northern Africa, and North America (Benth., in DC. Prodr., vol. x. p. 482); but considered to have been introduced here.

<sup>7</sup> *Veronica*, L. The species is perhaps *V. officinalis*, L.; which, together with *V. serpyllifolia*, L., is considered by Prof. Gray to be both indigenous and introduced here. — *Man. Bot.*, pp. 200–1.

<sup>8</sup> *Hedeoma pulegioides* (L.) Pers. (American pennyroyal), is doubtless meant. The specific name indicates its resemblance—in smell and taste particularly—to *Mentha pulegium*, L.; for which our author and Cutler (l. c., p. 461) mistook it. But the former is peculiar to America.

<sup>9</sup> *Mentha aquatica*, L. *Sp. Pl.* (*Gerard*, p. 684); for which it is likely our author (and also Cutler, l. c., p. 460) mistook *M. Canadensis*, L., Gray.

<sup>1</sup> *Nepeta cataria*, L. (*Gerard*, em., p. 682); considered by American botanists to have been introduced from Europe.

<sup>2</sup> *Agrimonia Eupatoria*, L. (*Gerard*, em., p. 712); common to America and Europe.

<sup>3</sup> *Xanthium strumarium*, L., Gray (*Gerard*, p. 809); common, as a species, to both continents; but in part, also, introduced. — *Gray, Man.*, p. 212.

Water-lilly, with yellow flowers.<sup>4</sup> The Indians eat the roots, which are long a-boiling. They tast like the liver of a sheep. The moose-deer feed much upon them; at which time the Indians kill them, when their heads are under water.

Dragons. Their leaves differ from all the kinds with us. They come up in June.<sup>5</sup>

Violets, of three kinds, — the white violet, which is sweet, but not so strong as our blew violets; blew violets, without sent; and a reddish violet, without sent. They do not blow till June.<sup>6</sup>

[45] *For Swell'd Legs.*

Woodbine, good for hot swellings of the legs; fomenting with the decoction, and applying the *feces* in the form of a cataplasme.<sup>7</sup>

Salomon's seal, of which there is three kinds: the first, common in England; the second, Virginia Salomon's seal; and the third, differing from both, is called treacle-berries, — having the perfect taste of treacle when they are ripe, — and will keep good a long while. Certainly a very wholesome berry, and medicinal.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Nuphar advena*, Ait., — the common American species, — is meant; and this, though resembling *N. lutea*, Sm., of Europe, is distinct from it.

<sup>5</sup> *Arum*, L. (Gerard, p. 381). The New-England species "differ," as our author says, "from all the kinds" in the Old World.

<sup>6</sup> None of the species, presumably here meant, are common to America and Europe. Our author's white violet is *Viola blanda*, Willd.

<sup>7</sup> All our true honeysuckles ("woodbinde, or honisuckles," — Gerard, p. 891; *Caprifolium*, Juss.) are distinct from those of Europe; but what the author meant here is uncertain.

<sup>8</sup> *Convallaria*, L.; *Polygonatum*, Tourn.; *Smilacina*, Desf. Many botanists have referred our smaller Solomon's seal to the nearly akin *C. multiflora* of Europe; but Dr. Gray (Manual, p. 466) pronounces the former a distinct American species. The second of Josselyn's species is the "*Polygonatum Virginianum*, or Virginian's Salomon's seale" of Johnson's Gerard (p. 905), and also of Morison (Hist., cit. L.), and earliest described and figured by Cornuti as *P. Canadense*, ꝑc., which is *Smilacina stellata*, (L.) Desf.; peculiar to America. The third is set down by our author, at p. 56, among the "plants proper to the country;" and Wood (New-Eng. Prospect, chap. v.) mentions it among eatable wild fruits, by the same name. It is probably *Smilacina racemosa*, (L.) Desf., — a suggestion which I owe to my friend Rev. J. L. Russell's notes upon Josselyn's plants, in Hovey's Magazine (March, April, and May, 1858); papers which were published after the manuscript of this edition had passed from the hands of the editor, — and is also confined to this continent.

Dove's-foot.<sup>9</sup>

Herb Robert.<sup>9</sup>

Knobby crane's-bill.<sup>9</sup>

*For Agues.*

Raven's-claw, which flowers in May, and is admirable for agues.<sup>9</sup>

Cink-foil.<sup>1</sup>

Tormentile.<sup>1</sup>

Avens, with the leaf of mountane-avens, the flower and root of English avens.<sup>2</sup>

Strawberries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Geranium*, L. The first is *G. Carolinianum*, L., which nearly resembles Gerard's dove's-foot (p. 938); the second is *G. Robertianum*, L., common to us and Europe; and the third (Gerard, p. 940) — which cannot be *G. dissectum* — was meant, it is likely to be taken for synonymous with the fourth, or raven's-claw, — doubtless our lovely *G. maculatum*, L., which belongs to that group of species which the old botanists distinguished by the common name *Geranium batrachioides*, or crow-foot geranium, which flowers in May, and is of well-known value in medicine; and the "knobby" root, attributed to Josselyn's third kind, favors this opinion.

<sup>1</sup> The genus *Potentilla*, L., in general, is perhaps intended by cinque-foil; and although our author probably confounded the common and variable *Potentilla Canadensis*, L., with the nearly akin *P. reptans* and *P. verna*, L., of Europe, yet the larger part of our New-England species are, with little doubt, common to both continents. What Josselyn referred to *Tormentilla*, L., — a genus not now separated from *Potentilla*, — was probably a state of *P. Canadensis*, which resembles *P. reptans*, L., as remarked above (and was, indeed, mistaken for it by Cutler, — *l. c.*, p. 453), as this does *Tormentilla reptans*, L.

<sup>2</sup> *Geum strictum*, Ait., — not found in England, but European (Gray, *Man.*, p. 116), — is indicated by the author's phrase; and see the *Voyages*, p. 78, for his opinion of its medicinal virtue.

<sup>3</sup> *Fragaria vesca*, L. (the common wood-strawberry of Europe), is native here, according to Oakes (*Catal. Verm.*, p. 12), "especially on mountains;" and I have even gathered it, but possibly naturalized, on the woody banks of Fresh Pond in Cambridge. Our more common strawberry was not separated from the European by Linnaeus, but is now reckoned a distinct species. "There is likewise strawberries in abundance," says Wood (*New-England's Prospect*, *l. c.*), — very large ones; some being two inches about. One may gather half a bushel in a forenoon." — "This berry," says Roger Williams (*Key*, in *Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii. p. 221), "is the wonder of all the fruits growing naturally in those parts. It is of itself excellent; so that one of the chiefest doctors of England was wont to say, that God could have made, but God never did make, a better berry. In some parts, where the natives have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship, within few miles' compass. The Indians bruise them in a mortar, and mix them with meal, and make strawberry-bread." Gookin also speaks of Indian-bread. — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. p. 150.

Wild angelica, majoris and minoris.<sup>4</sup>

Alexanders, which grow upon rocks by the seashore.<sup>5</sup>

[46] Yarrow, with the white flower.<sup>6</sup>

Columbines, of a flesh-colour; growing upon rocks.<sup>7</sup>

Oak of Hierusalem.<sup>8</sup>

Achariston is an excellent medicine for stopping of the lungs upon cold, ptisick, &c.

Oak of Cappadocia.<sup>8</sup> Both much of a nature: but oak of Hierusalem is stronger in operation; excellent for stuffing of the lungs upon colds, shortness of wind, and the ptisick,—maladies that the natives are often troubled with. I helped several of the Indians with a drink made of two gallons of molosses-wort (for, in that part of the country where I abode, we made our beer of molosses, water, bran, chips of sassafras-root, and a little wormwood, well boiled); into which I put, of oak of Hierusalem, cat-mint, sow-thistle, of each one handful; of *Enula campana* root, one ounce; liquorice, scrap'd, brused, and cut in peices, one ounce; sassafras-root, cut into

<sup>4</sup> The two plants here intended, and supposed by the author to correspond with the "wild angelica" and "great wilde angelica" of Gerard (pp. 999–1000), may perhaps be taken for the same which Cornuti (*Canad. Pl. Hist.*, pp. 196–200), thirty years before, had designated as new, — Josselyn's *Angelica sylvestris minor* being *Angelica lucida Canadensis* of Cornuti, which is *A. lucida*, L. (and probably, as the French botanist describes the fruit as "minus foliacea vulgaribus," also *Archangelica peregrina*, Nutt.); and his *Angelica sylvestris major* being *A. atropurpurea Canadensis* of Cornuti, or *A. atropurpurea*, L.

<sup>5</sup> *Smyrnum aureum*, L. (golden Alexanders), now separated from that genus, was mistaken, it is quite likely, for *S. olusatrum*, L. (true Alexanders), to which it bears a considerable resemblance. — Gerard, p. 1019.

<sup>6</sup> *Achillea millefolium*, L. Oakes has marked this as introduced (Catal. Vermont, p. 17): but it appeared to our author, in 1672, to be indigenous; and Dr. Gray reckons it among plants common to both hemispheres. — *Statistics of Amer. Flora*, in Am. Jour. Sci., vol. xxiii. p. 70. The author's reference is to common yarrow. — Gerard, p. 1072.

<sup>7</sup> *Aquilegia Canadensis*, L. As elsewhere, the author probably means here only that the genus is common to both continents.

<sup>8</sup> At p. 56, both of these are set down among the "plants proper to the country." The first, to follow Gerard (p. 1108), is *Chenopodium botrys*, L., — a native of the south of Europe, and considered as an introduced species here. It has reputation in diseases of the chest. — Wood & Bache, *Dispens.*, p. 213. Josselyn's oak of Cappadocia (Gerard, p. 1108) is an American species, — *Ambrosia elatior*, L. Cutler says of it (*l. c.*, p. 489), "It has somewhat the smell of camphire. It is used in antiseptick fomentations."

thin chips, one ounce; anny-seed and sweet-fennel seed, of each one spoonful, bruised. Boil these in a close pot, upon a soft fire, to the consumption of one gallon; then take it off, and stir it gently. You may, if you will, [47] boil the strained liquor with sugar to a syrup: then, when it is cold, put it up into glass bottles, and take thereof three or four spoonfuls at a time; letting it run down your throat as leasurably as possibly you can. Do thus in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night going to bed.

Goose-grass, or clivers.<sup>9</sup>

Fearn.<sup>1</sup>

Brakes.<sup>1</sup>

Wood-sorrel, with the yellow flower.<sup>2</sup>

Elm.<sup>3</sup>

Line-tree, both kinds.<sup>4</sup>

*A Way to draw out Oyl of Akorns, or the like, &c.*

Maple. Of the ashes of this tree the Indians make a lye, with which they force out oyl from oak-akorns, that is highly esteemed by the Indians.<sup>5</sup>

Dew-grass.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Galium aparine*, L. (Gerard, *edit. cit.*, p. 1122), common to America and Europe. — Compare Gray, Man., p. 170.

<sup>1</sup> The “*Filix mas*, or male fern,” of Gerard, *edit. cit.*, p. 1128 (for, says he, of the “divers sorts of fern . . . there be two sorts, according to the old writers, — the male and the female; and these be properly called fern: the others have their proper names”), is the collective designation of four species of *Aspidium*; of which all, according to Pursh, and certainly three, are natives of both continents, — *A. cristatum*, *Filix mas*, *Filix femina*, and *aculeatum*, Willd. “*Filix femina* (female fern, or brakes,” of Gerard, *l. c.*) is *Pteris aquilina*, L.; also common to us and Europe. The other *Filices* mentioned by our author are *Ophioglossum vulgatum*, L. (p. 42); and *Adiantum pedatum*, L. (p. 55).

<sup>2</sup> *Oxalis corniculata*, L. (Gerard, *em.*, p. 1202), common to Europe and America.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulmus*, L. There are no species common to America and Europe.

<sup>4</sup> See the Voyages, p. 69, where the author has it “the line-tree, with long nuts: the other kind I could never find.” The former was *Tilia Americana*, L., — a species peculiar to America.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 48; and Voyages, p. 69. None of our species are found in Europe.

<sup>6</sup> The plant intended is doubtless the same with that spoken of in the Voyages, p. 80, — “*Rosa solis*, sundew, moor-grass. This plant I have seen more of than ever I



Earth-nut, which are of divers kinds,—one bearing very beautiful flowers.<sup>7</sup>

Fuss-balls, very large.<sup>8</sup>

Mushrooms; some long, and no bigger than one's finger; others jagged, flat, round: none like our great mushrooms in England. Of these, some are of a scarlet colour; others, a deep yellow, &c.<sup>8</sup>

[48] Blew-flowered pimpernel.<sup>9</sup>

Noble liverwort; one sort with white flowers, the other with blew.<sup>1</sup>

Blackberry.<sup>2</sup>

Dewberry.<sup>2</sup>

Raspberry, here called mulberry.<sup>2</sup>

saw in my whole life before in England," &c. Both our common New-England species of *Drosera* are also natives of Europe.

<sup>7</sup> "Differing much from those in England. One sort of them bears a most beautiful flower" (p. 56, where it is rightly placed among plants "proper to the country"). The author refers here, doubtless, to *Apios tuberosa*, Moench. (ground-nut of New England), which was raised at Paris, from American seeds, by Vespasian Robin, and figured from his specimens by Cornuti (Canad., p. 200) in 1635; but it was celebrated, ten years earlier, in "Nova Anglia,"—a curious poem by the Rev. William Morrell, who came over with Capt. Robert Gorges in 1623, and spent about a year at Weymouth and Plymouth, publishing his book in 1625 (repr. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 125, &c.),—as follows:—

"Vimine gramineo nux subterranea suavis  
Serpit humi, tenui flavo sub cortice, pingui  
Et placido nucleo nivei candoris ab intra,  
Melliflua parcos hilarans dulcedine gustus,  
Donec in æstivum Phoebus conscenderit axem.  
His nucleis laute versutus vescitur Indus:  
His exempta fames segnis nostratibus omnis  
Dulcibus his vires revocantur victibus almæ."

<sup>8</sup> See p. 52 and Voyages (pp. 70, 81) for other notices of *Fungi*; and Voyages, p. 81, for the only mention of *Algæ*.

<sup>9</sup> Female pimpernell (Gerard, em., p. 617),—*Anagallis arvensis*, γ, Sm.; *A. cærulea*, Schreb.,—but scarcely differing, except in color, from the scarlet pimpernel, which has long ("in clayey ground,"—Cutler, l. c., 1785) been an inhabitant of the coasts of Massachusetts Bay, though doubtless introduced.

<sup>1</sup> *Hepatica triloba*, Chaix. (*Anemone hepatica*, L.), common to Europe and America; occurring occasionally with white flowers.—Gerard, em., p. 1203.

<sup>2</sup> *Rubus*, L. The red raspberry of this country is hardly other than an American variety of the European (*R. Ideus*, var. *strigosus*, caule petiolis pedunculis calyceque aculeato-hispidissimis, Enum. Pl. Agri Cantab, 1843, Ms.); upon which see Gray (Man., p. 121; and Statistics, &c., l. c., p. 81). *R. tripterus*, Richards., is also very near to, and was once considered the same as, the European *R. saxatilis*, L. The rest of our



Gooseberries, of a deep-red colour.<sup>3</sup>

Hawthorn; the haws being as big as services, and very good to eat, and not so stringent as the haws in England.<sup>4</sup>

Toad-flax.<sup>5</sup>

Pellamout, or mountain-time.<sup>6</sup>

Mouse-ear minor.<sup>7</sup>

*The Making of Oyl of Akorns. To strengthen weak Members.  
For scall'd Heads.*

There is oak of three kinds, — white, red, and black. The white is excellent to make canoes of, — shallopes, ships, and other vessels, for the sea; and for claw-board and pipe-staves. The black is good to make waynscot of: and out of the white-

New-England raspberries and blackberries appear to be specifically distinct from those of Europe. The cloud-berry, mentioned at p. 60, is there set down among plants proper to the country; and may therefore not be the true cloud-berry (Gerard, p. 1273), or *Rubus chamæmorus*, L., which is common to both continents.

<sup>3</sup> The New-England gooseberries are peculiar to this country. The author no doubt intends *Ribes hirtellum*, Michx. (Gray, Man., p. 137); as see further his Voyages, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Cratægus*, L. But the species are peculiar to this country, as Josselyn implies with respect to the haws which he notices. These, no doubt, included *C. tomentosa*, L., Gray; and perhaps, also, *C. coccinea*, L. Wood says, "The white thorn affords hawes as big as an English cherry; which is esteemed above a cherry for his goodness and pleasantness to the taste." — *New-England's Prospect*, chap. v. At page 72 of his Voyages, the author mentions "a small shrub, which is very common; growing sometimes to the height of elder; bearing a berry like in shape to the fruit of the white thorn; of a pale, yellow colour at first, then red (when it is ripe, of a deep purple); of a delicate, aromatical tast, but somewhat stiptick, — which is *Pyrus arbutifolia*, L. Higginson (New-England's Plantation, l. c., p. 119) speaks of our haws almost as highly as Wood.

<sup>5</sup> Great toad-flax (Gerard, em., p. 550); *Linaria vulgaris*, Moench. Compare De Candolle (Geog. Bot., vol. ii. p. 716) for a sketch of the American history of this now-familiar plant, which the learned author cannot trace before Bigelow's date (Fl. Bost., edit. 1) of 1814. But it is certainly Cutler's "snapdragon; . . . blossoms yellow, with a mixture of scarlet; common by roadsides in Lynn and Cambridge" (l. c., 1785): though he strangely prefixes the Linneæan phrase for *Antirrhinum Canadense*, L.; and there seems no reason to doubt that Josselyn may very well have seen it in 1671.

<sup>6</sup> Gerard, p. 653 (*Teucrium*, L.). The author may have intended to reckon the genus only. Our species is peculiar to this continent.

<sup>7</sup> The designation is uncertain. The old botanists gave the name *Auricula muris*, or mouse-ear, to species of *Myosotis*, *Draba*, *Hieracium*, and *Gnaphalium*. Josselyn's plant may most probably be *Antennaria plantaginifolia*, Hook. (mouse-ear of New England), which is very near to *A. dioica* of Europe. — Gray, *Statistics*, &c., l. c., p. 81.

oak acorns (which is the acorn bears delight to feed upon), the natives draw an oyl; taking the rottenest maple-wood, which, being burnt to ashes, they make a strong lye therewith, wherein they boyl their white-oak acorns until the oyl swim on the top in great quantity. This [49] they fleet off, and put into bladders, to annoint their naked limbs; which corroborates them exceedingly. They eat it, likewise, with their meat. It is an excellent, clear, and sweet oyl. Of the moss that grows at the roots of the white oak, the Indesses make a strong decoction, with which they help their papouses or young children's scall'd heads.<sup>8</sup>

Juniper, which, Cardanus saith, is cedar in hot countries, and juniper in cold countries. It is here very dwarfish and shrubby; growing, for the most part, by the sea-side.<sup>9</sup>

Willow.<sup>1</sup>

Spurge-lawrel, called here poyson-berry. It kills the English cattle, if they chance to feed upon it; especially calves.<sup>2</sup>

Gaul, or noble mirtle.<sup>3</sup>

Elder.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Quercus alba*, L.; *Q. rubra*, L.; and *Q. tinctoria*, Bartr. Wood's account of the oaks (New-England's Prospect, chap. v.) is similar. In his Voyages, p. 61, Josselyn gives us "the ordering of red oake for wainscot. When they have cut it down and clear'd it from the branches, they pitch the body of the tree in a muddy place in a river, with the head downward, for some time. Afterwards they draw it out; and, when it is seasoned sufficiently, they saw it into boards for wainscot; and it will branch out into curious works."

<sup>9</sup> *Juniperus communis*, L.; common to both continents. But the author did not probably distinguish from it *J. Virginiana*, L.; which is frequent, and often dwarfish, near the sea.

<sup>1</sup> *Salix*, L.; the genus only meant here, it is likely.

<sup>2</sup> *Daphne Laureola*, L. (Gerard, p. 1404), with which Josselyn may have considered *Kalmia angustifolia*, L., in some sort, allied. The latter has long been known in New England as dwarf or low laurel.

<sup>3</sup> *Myrica Gale*, L. (Gerard, p. 1414); common to Europe and America.

<sup>4</sup> *Sambucus*, L. Our *S. Canadensis*, L., differs very little from the common elder of Europe, except, as our author in his Voyages says (p. 71), in being "shrubbic," and in not having "a smell so strong." — Cf. DC. *Prodr.*, vol. ii. p. 322; Gerard, p. 1421. The other North-American elder (*S. pubens*, Michx.) is at least equally near to the European *S. racemosa*, L., according to Prof. Gray.

Dwarf-elder.<sup>5</sup>

*For a Cut with a Bruse.*

Alder. An Indian, bruising and cutting of his knee with a fall, used no other remedy than alder-bark, chewed fasting, and laid to it; which did soon heal it.<sup>6</sup>

*To take Fire out of a Burn.*

The decoction is also excellent to take [50] the fire out of a burn or scald.

*For Wounds and Cuts.*

For wounds and cuts, make a strong decoction of bark of alder: pour of it into the wound, and drink thereof.

Hasel.<sup>7</sup>

*For sore Mouths, Falling of the Pallat.*

Filberd, both with hairy husks upon the nuts, and setting hollow from the nut, and fill'd with a kind of water of an astringent taste. It is very good for sore mouths, and falling of the pallat; as is the whole green nut, before it comes to kernel, burnt and pulverized. The kernels are seldom without maggots in them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "There is a sort of dwarf-elder, that grows by the sea-side, that hath a red pith. The berries of both" — that is, of this and of the true elder mentioned above — "are smaller than English elder; not round, but corner'd." — *Voyages*, p. 71. Gerard's dwarf-elder (p. 1425) is *Sambucus ebulus*, L. Josselyn's may have been a *Viburnum*; for this genus was confused with *Sambucus* by the elder botanists. Wood (New-England Prospect, chap. v.) speaks of —

"Small eldern, by the Indian fletchers sought; —"

which was perhaps arrow-wood, or *Viburnum dentatum*, L.

<sup>6</sup> *Alnus*, Tourn. One of the three New-England species (*A. incana*, Willd.) is common to Europe and America. Another (*A. serrulata*, Willd.) "bears so great a resemblance," says F. A. Michaux, to the common European alder (*A. glutinosa*, Willd.) "in its flowers, its seeds, its leaves, its wood, and its bark, as to render a separate figure unnecessary; the only difference observable between them" being "that the European species is larger, and has smaller leaves." — *Sylva*, vol. ii. p. 114. Compare Gray, Statistics, &c., l. c., p. 83. *A. viridis*, our third species, is common to Europe and this country.

<sup>7</sup> *Corylus*, L. Our species, which are peculiar to America, are both indicated: the "filberd, . . . with hairy husks upon the nuts," being *C. rostrata*, Ait. (beaked hazel); and that "setting hollow from the nut," — that is, larger than the nut, — *C. Americana*. Wangenh. (common hazel).

THE FIGURE OF THE WALNUT.



Walnut. The nuts differ much from ours in Europe; they being smooth,—much like a nutmeg in shape, and not much bigger: some three-cornered; all of them but thinly replenished with kernels.<sup>8</sup>

[51] Chestnuts; very sweet in taste, and may be (as they usually are) eaten raw. The Indians sell them to the English for twelve pence the bushel.<sup>9</sup>

Beech.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Carya*, Nutt. In the *Voyages*, p. 69, the author speaks of the “walnut, which is divers: some bearing square nuts; others like ours, but smaller. There is likewise black walnut, of precious use for tables, cabinets, and the like” (*Juglans nigra*, L.). “The walnut-tree,” continues Josselyn, “is the toughest wood in the country, and therefore made use of for hoops and bowes; there being no yews there growing. In England, they made their bowes usually of witch-hasel” (that is, witch-elm, — *Ulmus montana*, Bauh., Lindl.; as see Gerard, p. 1481: but *Carpinus*, “in Essex, is called witch-hasel,” — *ib.*), ash, yew, the best of outlandish elm; but the Indians make theirs of walnut.” This was hickory, and what Wood says belongs doubtless to the same. He calls it “something different from the English walnut; being a great deal more tough and more serviceable, and altogether heavy. And whereas our guns, that are stocked with English walnut, are soon broken and cracked in frost,—being a brittle wood,—we are driven to stock them new with the country walnut, which will endure all blows and weather; lasting time out of mind.” After speaking favorably of the fruit, he adds (New-Eng. Prospect, chap. vi.), “There is likewise a tree, in some parts of the country, that bears a nut as big as a pear,”—the butternut, doubtless (*Juglans cinerea*, L.). Josselyn has told us (p. 48) of the oil which the Indians managed to get from the acorns of the white oak. Roger Williams (Key, *l. c.*, p. 220) says our native Americans made “of these walnuts . . . an excellent oil, good for many uses, but especially for the anointing of their heads.” Michaux (*Sylva*, vol. i. p. 163) says the Indians used the oil of the butternut, and also (p. 185) of the shag-bark, “to season their aliments.” Williams adds (*l. c.*), “Of the chips of the walnut-tree—the bark taken off—some English in the country make excellent beer, both for taste, strength, colour, and inoffensive opening operation.”

<sup>9</sup> *Castanea vesca*, Gaertn.; common to Europe and America. Our chestnut is considered to differ from the European only as an American variety of a species common to both continents might be expected to. “The Indians have an art of drying their chestnuts, and so to preserve them in their barns for a dainty all the year.”—*R. Williams, l. c.*

<sup>1</sup> Neither Wood nor R. Williams makes mention of it. The younger Michaux considered our beech distinct from the European; but Mr. Nuttall makes it only a variety of it; while Prof. Gray puts both trees in his list of “very close representative species.”—*Statistics, &c., l. c.*, p. 81.

Ash.<sup>2</sup>

Quick-beam, or wild ash.<sup>3</sup>

*Coals of Birch, pulverized and wrought with the white of an Egg to a Sulve, is a gallant Remedy for dry Scurfy-sores upon the Shins, and for bruised Wounds and Cuts.*

Birch, white and black. The bark of birch is used by the Indians for bruised wounds and cuts,—boyled very tender, and stampd betwixt two stones to a plaister, and the decoction thereof poured into the wound; and also to fetch the fire out of burns and scalds.<sup>4</sup>

Poplar, but differing in leaf.<sup>5</sup>

Plumb-tree, several kinds; bearing, some long, round, white, yellow, red, and black plums,—all differing in their fruit from those in England.<sup>6</sup>

Wild purcelane.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Fraxinus*, L. Our species are peculiar to this continent. I cannot account for Wood's saying, "It is different from the ash of England; being brittle and good for little, so that walnut is used for it."—*New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Sorbus*, L. (Gerard, p. 1473). Our mountain-ash (*S. Americana*, Willd.) is quite near to the quicken, or mountain-ash of the north of Europe (*S. aucuparia*, L.); but hardly, perhaps, to be reduced to an American variety of it, as the elder Michaux (*Fl. Amer.*, vol. i. p. 290) proposed. Compare Gray, *Statistics*, &c., l. c., p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Except the small white birch (*B. populifolia*, Ait.), which Mr. Spach reduces to a variety of the European *B. alba*, L.,—in which he is sustained by Prof. Gray (Man., p. 411),—and the dwarf-birch (*B. nana*, L.) of our alpine regions, all our species are peculiar to this continent.—See the author's *Voyages*, p. 69, for another mention of the birches.

<sup>5</sup> *Populus*, L. Our species are peculiar to the country, as the author's remark suggests. Wood (l. c.) notices "the ever-trembling aspens."

<sup>6</sup> "The plumbs of the country be better for plumbs than the cherries be for cherries. They be black and yellow; about the bigness of damsons; of a reasonable good taste."—*New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. v. *Prunus maritima*, Wangenh. (beech-plum), and *P. Americana*, Marsh. (wild yellow plum), are no doubt here intended; as also, it is likely, by Josselyn, who, it is evident, in this place had only the genus in mind as "common with us in England."—See p. 61 for the author's mention of the "wild cherry."

<sup>7</sup> *Portulaca oleracea*, L. (Gerard, p. 521). "In cornfields. It is eaten as a pot-herb, and esteemed by some as little inferior to asparagus."—*Cutler; Account of Indigenous Vegetables* (1785), l. c., p. 447. Considered to have been introduced here; but our author enables us to carry back the date of its introduction, without reasonable doubt, to the first settlement of the country. Mr. Nuttall regarded the species as indigenous



Wood-wax, wherewith they dye many pretty colours.<sup>8</sup>

Red and black currans.<sup>9</sup>

[52] *For the Gout, or any Ach.*

Spunk, an excrescence growing out of black birch. The Indians use it for touchwood; and therewith they help the sciatica, or gout of the hip, or any great ach,—burning the patient with it in two or three places upon the thigh, and upon certain veins.<sup>1</sup>

on the plains of the Missouri; but this plant, “too closely resembling the common purslane,” according to Prof. Gray (Man., p. 64), has been separated as specifically distinct by Dr. Engelmänn.

<sup>8</sup> *Genista tinctoria*, L. (*Genistella tinctoria*,—greenweed, or dyers’ weed; Gerard, p. 1316). “We shall not need to speake of the use that diers make thereof,” says the latter. Our author could hardly have been mistaken about so well-known a plant as this; which he probably met with in one of his visits to the-neighborhood of Boston,—long the only American station for it. There is a tradition that it was introduced here by Gov. Endicott; which may have been some forty years before Josselyn finished his herborizing,—enough to account for its naturalization then. It was long confined to Salem (“pastures between New Mills and Salem,”—*Cutler, l. c.*, 1785); but occurred to me sparingly, in 1841, on the shores of Cambridge Bay, and also on roadsides in Old Cambridge. “Woad-seed” is set down, in a memorandum of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, before February, 1628, to be sent to New England (Mass. Col. Rec., vol. i. p. 24); and though *Isatis tinctoria*, L., is true woad, *Reseda luteola*, L. (wold, or weld), and our *Genista* (woadwaxen), have, it is said (Rees’s Cycl., *in loco*), been known “in English herbals under that name.”

<sup>9</sup> “Current-bushes are of two kinds,—red and black. The black currents, which are larger than the red, . . . are reasonable pleasant in eating.”—*Voyages*, p. 72. Our black currant is *Ribes floridum*, Herit.,—considered by Linnæus (Sp. Pl., p. 291) only a variety of *R. nigrum*, L., the true black currant of the gardens; and our red currant, which I have gathered in the White Mountains,—far below the region of *R. rigens*, Michx., the more common red currant there,—appears to be undistinguishable from *R. rubrum*, L. (the red currant of gardens); unless, possibly, as an American variety of it. This is probably *R. albinervium*, Michx. (Fl., vol. i. p. 110; Pursh, Fl., vol. i. p. 163).

<sup>1</sup> *Polyporus*, Mich., sp.—In his *Voyages*, p. 70, the author speaks of “a stately tree, growing here and there in valleys, not like to any trees in Europe; having a smooth bark, of a dark-brown colour, the leaves like great maple, in England called sycamor; but larger,”—which may be *Platanus occidentalis*, L. (buttonwood). And Wood enables us to add one more to this early account of the genera of plants, which we possess, common to the Old World. He tells us (New-England’s Prospect, chap. v.) “the hornbound tree is a tough kind of wood, that requires so much pains in riving as is almost incredible; being the best to make bowls and dishes, not being subject to crack or leak. This tree growing with broad-spread arms, the vines twist their curling branches about them; which vines afford great store of grapes,” &c. This was



2. *Of such Plants as are proper to the Country.*

*To ripen any Impostume or Swelling. For sore Mouths. The New-England standing Dish.*

Indian wheat, of which there is three sorts, — yellow, red, and blew. The blew is commonly ripe before the other, a month. Five or six grains of Indian wheat hath produced, in one year, six hundred. It is hotter than our wheat, and clammy; excellent in cataplasms, to ripen any swelling or impostume. The decoction of the blew corn is good to wash sore mouths with. It is light of digestion; and the English make a kind of loblolly of it [53] to eat with milk, which they call sampe. They beat it in a mortar, and sift the flower out of it. The remainder they call homminey, which they put into a pot of two or three gallons, with water, and boyl it upon a gentle fire till it be like a hasty pudden. They put of this into milk, and so eat it. Their bread also they make of the homminey so boiled, and mix their flower with it; cast it into a deep bason, in which they form the loaf; and then turn it out upon the peel, and presently put it into the oven before it spreads abroad. The flower makes excellent puddens.<sup>2</sup>

our American hornbeam (*Carpinus Americana*, L.). And the same author again alludes to it, in verse, as —

“The horn-bound tree, that to be cloven scorns;  
Which from the tender vine oft takes his spouse,  
Who twines embracing arms about his boughs.”

A pleasant enough illustration of what taught classical husbandry, — “*ulmis adjungere vites*.” — *Georg.*, i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See also the Voyages, p. 73. “It is almost incredible,” says Higginson (New-England’s Plantation, *L. c.*, p. 118), “what great gaine some of our English planters have had by our Indian corne. Credible persons have assured me, — and the partie himselfe avouched the truth of it to me, — that, of the setting of thirteen gallons of corne, hee hath had encrease of it 52 hogsheads; every hogshhead holding seven bushels, of London measure: and every bushell was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth 18 shillings. And so, of this 13 gallons of corne, which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare; where you may see how God blessed husbandry in this

Bastard *Calamus aromaticus* agrees with the description, but is not barren. They flower in July, and grow in wet places; as about the brinks of ponds.<sup>3</sup>

*To keep the Feet warm.*

The English make use of the leaves to keep their feet warm. There is a little beast called a musquash, that liveth in small houses in the ponds, like mole-hills, that feed upon these plants. Their cods sent as sweet and as strong as musk; and will last a long time, handsomly wrap'd up in cotton-wool. They are very good to lay amongst cloaths. May is the best [54] time to kill them; for then their cods sent strongest.

Wild leekes, which the Indians use much to eat with their fish.<sup>4</sup>

A plant like knaves'-mustard, called New-England mustard.<sup>5</sup>

Mountain-lillies, bearing many yellow flowers, turning up their leaves like the martigon, or Turk's-cap; spotted with small spots as deep as saffron. They flower in July.<sup>6</sup>

land. There is not such greate and plentiful eares of corne, I suppose, any where else to bee found but in this countrey; because, also, of varietie of colours, — as red, blew, and yellow, &c.: and of one corne there springeth four or five hundred." Roger Williams (Key, *l. c.*, pp. 208, 221) has some interesting particulars of the Indian use of their corn. According to him, the Indian *msickquatash* (that is, succotash, as we call it now) was "boiled corn whole," and "*nawsaump*, a kind of meal pottage unparched. From this the English call their samp; which is the Indian corn beaten and boiled, and eaten, hot or cold; with milk or butter, — which are mercies beyond the natives' plain water, and which is a dish exceeding wholesome for the English bodies."

<sup>3</sup> *Acorus Calamus*, L.; common to Europe and America. In his *Voyages*, p. 77, the author drops properly, in mentioning this, the injurious prefix. It seems that our New-England forefathers used the leaves to cover their cold floors, as they had used rushes at home; and, according to Sir W. J. Hooker (*Br. Fl.*, vol. i. p. 159), the pleasant smell of the plant has recommended it, in like manner, "for strewing on the floor of the cathedral at Norwich, on festival days."

<sup>4</sup> *Allium Canadense*, L., probably. — See also p. 55, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> "Knaves'-mustard (for that it is too bad for honest men). — Gerard, p. 262. The "New-England mustard," which was like it, may be *Lepidium Virginicum*, L.; which, having "a taste like common garden-cress, or peppergrass" (Bigel., *Fl. Bost., in loco*), perhaps attracted the first settlers.

<sup>6</sup> The "many flowers," with reflexed sepals, perhaps refer this to our noble American Turk's-cap (*Lilium superbum*, L.), rather than to the yellow lily (*L. Canadense*, L.).

One-berry, or herb true-love. See the figure.<sup>7</sup>

Tobacco. There is not much of it planted in New England. The Indians make use of a small kind, with short, round leaves, called *pooke*.<sup>8</sup>

*For Burns and Scalds.*

With a strong decoction of tobacco, they cure burns and scalds; boiling it in water from a quart to a pint, then wash the sore therewith, and strew on the powder of dried tobacco.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> "They take their *wuttammauog*,—that is, a weak tobacco,—which the men plant themselves, very frequently. Yet I never see any take so excessively as I have seen men in Europe; and yet excess were more tolerable in them, because they want the refreshing of beer and wine, which God had vouchsafed Europe."—*R. Williams, Key, l. c.*, p. 213. And, in another place, the same writer says that tobacco is "commonly the only plant which men labour in" (he is speaking of the Indians); "the women managing all the rest" (p. 208). Wood, in his list of Indian words (New-England Prospect, *ad ult.*), spells the Indian word, above given, *ottommaocke*,—(perhaps both are comparable with "*wuttahinneash*, strawberries" (Williams, *l. c.*, p. 220), and "*weetimoquat*, it smells sweet" (Vocab. of Narraganset Lang., in Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 32); *og*, *ock*, and *ash*, being all plural terminations; between which and "the noun in the singular one or more consonants or vowels are frequently interspersed" (*ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 222, note); and *oquat*, from the context, the verbal; and the root appearing possibly the same),—and also defines it as tobacco. There is much other testimony that the New-England savages were found using "tobacco" (as Mourt's Relation, *l. c.*, p. 230; and Winslow's Relation, *l. c.*, p. 253); but our author's text, above, appears to distinguish the true herb, "not much planted," from "a small kind called *pooke*," which "the Indians make use of." And again, more clearly, in his Voyages, we have to the same effect: "The Indians in New England use a small, round-leaved tobacco, called by them or the fishermen *poke*. It is odious to the English. . . . Of marchantable . . . tobacco, . . . there is little of it planted in New England; neither have they" (both clauses appear to refer to the English) "learned the right way of curing of it." This "marchantable tobacco" was no doubt mainly *Nicotiana tabacum*, L.; but the other kind, the weak tobacco,—cultivated, as Williams tells us, by the Indians, and recognized as tobacco by the English,—was not, as Wood says (N. E. Prospect, *l. c.*), colt's-foot, but *Nicotiana rustica*, L. (the yellow henbane of Gerard's Herbal, p. 356), well known to have been long in cultivation among the American savages, and now a naturalized relic of that cultivation in various parts of the United States. The name, *poke*, or *pooke*,—if it be, as is supposable, the same with "*puck*, smoke," of the Narraganset vocabulary of R. Williams (Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 34),—was perhaps always indefinite, and, since Cutler's day, has been applied in New England to the green hemlock (*Veratrum viride*, Ait.); but this was not, it is evident, the poke of the first settlers. The name is also given to *Phytolacca decandra*, L. (the *skoke* of Cutler), and the hellebore apparently distinguished from this as Indian poke; but the application of the name to the former, at least, probably had its origin among the whites.

Hollow-leaved lavender is a plant that grows in salt-marshes overgrown with moss; with one straight stalk about the bigness of an oat-straw, better than a cubit high. Upon the top standeth one [55] fantastical flower. The leaves grow close



HOLLOW-LEAV'D LAVENDER. — [Page 54.]

from the root, in shape like a tankard; hollow, tough, and always full of water. The root is made up of many small strings, growing only in the moss, and not in the earth. The whole plant comes to its perfection in August, and then it has leaves, stalks, and flowers, as red as blood; excepting the

flower, which hath some yellow admixt. I wonder where the knowledge of this plant hath slept all this while; i.e., above forty years.

*For all Manner of Fluxes.*

It is excellent for all manner of fluxes.

Live-for-ever, a kind of cud-weed.<sup>9</sup>

Tree-primrose, taken by the ignorant for scabious.<sup>1</sup>

A solar plant, as some will have it.

Maiden-hair, or *Cappellus veneris verus*, which ordinarily is half a yard in height. The apothecaries, for shame, now will substitute wall-rue no more for maiden-hair, since it grows in abundance in New England, from whence they may have good store.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>9</sup> "Live-for-ever. It is a kind of cud-weed. . . . It grows now plentifully in our English gardens. . . . The fishermen, when they want" (that is, lack) "tobacco, take this herb; being cut and dried." — *Voyages*, p. 78; where the author adds the peculiar medicinal virtues of the plant, which are the same as those assigned by Gerard (p. 644) to the genus. Compare, as to this, Wood and Bache, *Dispens.*, p. 1334. The species intended by Josselyn is our everlasting (*Antennaria margaritacea* (L.) Br.), described by Gerard, and figured by Johnson in his edition of the former (p. 641), and first published by Clusius (*Gnaphalium Americanum*, *Rar. Pl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 327) in 1601. Clusius had it from England, says Johnson. The dried herb, used by the fishermen instead of tobacco, and no doubt called by them *poke*, may have been mistaken by Wood for colt's-foot, the leaves of which were "smoked by the ancients in pulmonary complaints; . . . and, in some parts of Germany, are at the present time said to be substituted for tobacco." — *Wood and Bache, Dispens.*, p. 1401. *Cornus sericea*, L., — "called by the natives squaw-bush" (Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, vol. i. p. 125), and by the western Indians *kinnikinnik* (Gray, *Man.*, p. 161); furnished, in its inner bark (on the medicinal properties of which, see especially Rees's *Cycl.*, Amer. ed., *in loco*), a substitute for *Nicotiana*, — very widely approved among the native Americans. The name, Indian tobacco, given to *Lobelia inflata*, L. (the emetic-weed of Cutler, *L. c.*, p. 484; who "first attracted to it the attention of the profession"), by the whites, is in some connections confusing, and might well be displaced by wild tobacco, which is also in popular use.

<sup>1</sup> *Enothera biennis*, L. (Johnson's Gerard, p. 475), — known to Europeans, according to Linnæus (*Sp. Pl.*, p. 493), as early as 1614; but first described and figured by Prosper Alpinus, in his posthumous *De Pl. Exoticis*, p. 325, t. 324, *cit. L.* Johnson says that Parkinson gave it the English name of tree-primrose, which it still keeps. It is "vulgarly known by the name of scabish (a corruption, probably, of scabious)" in the country. — *Bigel. Fl. Bost.*, *in loco*. Josselyn describes the plant in his *Voyages*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Adiantum pedatum*, L. — The European *A. Capillus veneris*, L., long used as a pectoral (the *sirop de capillaire* of French shops being made of it), is, according to Messrs. Wood and Bache (*Dispens.*, p. 1290), "feebler" than our species, which Josselyn recommends.



Pirola, two kinds (see the figures); both of them excellent wound-herbs.<sup>3</sup>

Homer's Molley.<sup>4</sup>

[56] Lysimachus, or loose-strife. It grows in dry grounds in the open sun, four foot high; flowers from the middle of the plant to the top; the flowers purple, standing upon a small sheath, or cod, which, when it is ripe, breaks, and puts forth a white silken down. The stalk is red, and as big as one's finger.<sup>5</sup>

Marygold of Peru, of which there are two kinds, — one bearing black seeds; the other black and white streak'd. This beareth the fairest flowers, — commonly but one, — upon the very top of the stalk.<sup>6</sup>

Treacle-berries (see, before, Salomon's seal).

Oak of Hierusalem (see before).

Oak of Cappadocia (see before).

Earth-nuts, differing much from those in England. One sort of them bears a most beautiful flower.<sup>7</sup>

### *For the Scurvy and Dropsie.*

Sea-tears. They grow upon the sea-banks in abundance. They are good for the scurvy and dropsie; boiled and eaten as a sallade, and the broth drunk with it.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 67, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson's Gerard, p. 183: which is perhaps *Allium magicum*, L.; for which our *A. tricoccum*, Ait., may have been mistaken. — See also p. 54 of this; note.

<sup>5</sup> *Epilobium angustifolium*, L. (rosebay willow-herbe of Gerard by Johnson); which last figures it at p. 477: common to Europe and America; but some botanists have, like Josselyn, reckoned the American plant "proper to the country."

<sup>6</sup> *Helianthus*, L. (Gerard, p. 751), a genus peculiar to America; called "American marygold" in the Voyages (p. 59), where it is set down among the more striking of our New-England flowers. At p. 82 of this book, the author gives a cut of the "marygold of America," which he describes. It is probably the second one above mentioned, and perhaps *H. strumosus*, L., Gray. The other kind, with "black seeds," was probably *H. divaricatus*, L.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 47. The earth-nuts of Gerard (p. 1064) are species of *Bulbocastanum* of authors.

<sup>8</sup> Not clear to me. But, taking the alleged virtues and the station into account, our author may mean here the rather striking American sea-rocket (*Cakile Americana*, Nutt.); which, it is likely, occurred to him. Spurge-time (p. 43) also grows on "sea-banks."



*Indian Beans, better for Physick-Use than other Beans.*

Indian beans, falsly called French beans, are better for physick and chyrurgery [57] than our garden-beans. *Probatum est.*<sup>9</sup>

Squashes, but more truly squontersquashes; a kind of melon, or rather gourd; for they oftentimes degenerate into gourds. Some of these are green; some yellow; some longish, like a gourd; others round, like an apple: all of them pleasant food, boyled and buttered, and season'd with spice. But the yellow squash — called an apple-squash (because like an apple), and about the bigness of a pome-water — is the best kind.<sup>1</sup> They are much eaten by the Indians and English; yet they breed the small white worms (which physicians call ascarides) in the long gut, that vex the fundament with a perpetual itching, and a desire to go to stool.

Water-mellon. It is a large fruit, but nothing near so big as a pompion; colour smother, and of a sad grass-green;

<sup>9</sup> "French beans; or, rather, American beans. The herbalists call them kidney-beans, from their shape and effects; for they strengthen the kidneys. They are variegated much, — some being bigger, a great deal, than others; some white, black, red, yellow, blue, spotted: besides your *Bonivis*, and *Calavances*, and the kidney-bean that is proper to Ronoake. But these are brought into the country: the other are natural to the climate." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 73-4. R. Williams (*Key*, l. c., p. 208) gives *manusquessedush* as the Indian word for beans. Cornuti (whose book, indeed, is not confined to Canadian plants; though, on the other hand, he was sometimes ill informed of the true locality of his specimens; as in the case of *Asclepias Cornuti*, Decsue, which he published as *A. Syriaca*) figures and describes, at pp. 184-5, *Phaseolus multiflorus*, L.; and this may possibly have been raised from seeds procured by French missionaries from the Canadian savages: but *P. vulgaris*, L., our well-known bush-bean, is doubtless what Josselyn has mainly in view, as cultivated by the native Americans.

<sup>1</sup> "*Askutasquash*, — their vine-apples, — which the English, from them, call squashes: about the bigness of apples of several colours." — *R. Williams, Key*, &c., l. c., p. 222. "In summer, when their corn is spent, *isquotersquashes* is their best bread; a fruit much like a pumpion." — *Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, part 2, chap. vi. The late Dr. T. W. Harris made the ill-understood edible gourds a special object of study, and devoted particular attention to the ascertaining of the kinds cultivated by the American savages; but his papers have not as yet seen the light. The warted squash (*Cucurbita verrucosa*, L.) and the orange-gourd (*C. aurantium*, Willd.) — the fruit of which last is of the size and color of an orange, and "more tender than the common pompion" (Loudon, *Encycl. Pl.*) — are perhaps, in part, intended by our author.

rounder, or, more rightly, sap-green; with some yellowness admixt when ripe. The seeds are black; the flesh, or pulpe, exceeding juicy.<sup>2</sup>

*For Heat and Thirst in Feavers.*

It is often given to those sick of feavers, and other hot diseases, with good success.

[58] New-England daysie, or primrose, is the second kind of navel-wort in Johnson upon Gerard. It flowers in May, and grows amongst moss upon hilly grounds and rocks that are shady.<sup>3</sup>

*For Burns and Scalds.*

It is very good for burns and scalds.

<sup>2</sup> "Pompions and water-mellons, too, they have good store," says our author (Voyages, p. 130); and again, at p. 74 of the same, "The water-melon is proper to the countrie. The flesh of it is of a flesh-colour; a rare cooler of feavers, and excellent against the stone." The water-melon (*Cucurbita citrullus*, L.) is "the only medecine the common people use in ardent fevers," in Egypt (Loudon, *l. c.*). *Cucurbita pepo*, L. (Gr. πέπων; Low Dutch, *pepoen*, *pompoen*; Fr., *pomponne*), is our English pompon, or pumpkin. At p. 91, Josselyn speaks of pompions "proper to the country." Compare Gerard's chapter "of melons, or pompions" (Johnson's Gerard, p. 918), where are two Virginian sorts; and see "the ancient New-England standing dish," at p. 91 of this book. The evidence appears to be sufficient, that our savages had in cultivation, together with their corn and tobacco, — and, like these, derived originally from tropical regions, — several sorts of what we call squashes, some kinds of pompon, and also water-melons; and, Graves's letter (New-England Plantation, *l. c.*, p. 124) adds, musk-melons. See further, especially, Champlain (Voy. de la Nouv. France, *passim*) and L'Escarbot (Hist. de la Nouv. France, vol. ii. p. 836). Mr. A. De Candolle (Geogr. Bot., vol. ii. pp. 899, 904) disputes the American origin of the edible gourds, but does not appear to have examined all the early authorities for their cultivation by the savages before the settlement of this country. Such cultivation appears to be made out, and to indicate that these vegetables have probably been known, from very remote antiquity, in the warmer parts of America. But this does not touch the difficult question of origin; and it may still appear that the gourds are equally ancient in Europe, and derived, both here and there, from Asia (De Cand., *l. c.*); such derivation being explainable, in the case of America, by old migrations from Asia through Polynesia. — *Pickering, Races of Man*, chap. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson's Gerard, p. 528; where the same plant is also called "jagged or rose penniwoort," and is probably what our author intends at p. 43 of this. It was no doubt our pretty *Saxifraga Virginensis*, Michx., which Josselyu had in view. In his Voyages, p. 80, he assigns to it the medicinal virtues which Gerard attributes to the great navel-wort, or wall-pennywort (*Cotyledon umbilicus*, Huds.)

*An Achariston, or Medicine deserving Thanks.*

An Indian, whose thumb was swell'd and very much inflamed, and full of pain, increasing and creeping along to the wrist; with little black spots under the thumb, against the nail: I cured it with this *Umbilicus veneris* (root and all), the yolk of an egg, and wheat-flower (f. cataplasme).

Briony of Peru (we call it, though its grown hear); or, rather, scammony. Some take it for *mechoacan*. The green juice is absolutely poyson; yet the root, when dry, may safely be given to strong bodies.<sup>4</sup>

Red and black currence (see before).

Wild damask roses, single, but very large and sweet, but stiptick.<sup>5</sup>

Sweet fern.<sup>6</sup> The roots run one within another, like a net; being very long, and spreading abroad under the upper crust of [59] the earth: sweet in taste, but withal astringent. Much hunted after by our swine. The Scotchmen that are in New England have told me that it grows in Scotland.

*For Fluxes.*

The people boyl the tender tops in molosses-beer, and in possets for fluxes; for which it is excellent.

<sup>4</sup> *Convolvulus sepium*, L. (great bind-weed) is exceedingly like to *C. Scammonia*, L., the inspissated juice of which is the officinal scammony; and is common to Europe and North America. Gerard's bryony of Peru (p. 872-3), to which Josselyn refers, is, whatever it be, not found here. Compare Cutler's remarks on *C. sepium* (Account of Veg., &c., l. c., p. 416). *Mechoacan*, "called . . . Indian briony, or briony, or scammony of America," from the Caribbee Islands, &c., is described in Hughes, Amer. Physitian (1672), p. 94; and see Wood and Bache, Dispens., p. 424, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Rosa Carolina*, L. (Carolina rose), probably. — See Cutler's observations, l. c., p. 451. Higginson also notices "single damaske roses, verie sweete." — *New-Eng. Plantation*, l. c., p. 119. Our Carolina rose is said to be common in English shrub-beries.

<sup>6</sup> See also Voyages, p. 72. Our author is the earliest authority that I have met with for this name; and his plant, which is placed among those "proper to the country," may very well be what has long been called sweet-fern in New England, — *Comptonia asplenifolia* (L.) Ait.; still used in "molasses beer," and medicinal in the way mentioned. — Emerson, *Trees and Shrubs of Mass.*, p. 226.

Sarsaparilia, a plant not yet sufficiently known by the English. Some say it is a kind of bind-weed. We have, in New England, two plants that go under the name of sarsaparilia: the one, not above a foot in height, without thorns; the other having the same leaf, but is a shrub as high as a gooseberry-bush, and full of sharp thorns. This I esteem as the right, by the shape and savour of the roots; but rather by the effects answerable to that we have from other parts of the world. It groweth upon dry, sandy banks by the sea-side; and upon the banks of rivers, so far as the salt water flows; and within land up in the country, as some have reported.<sup>7</sup>

Bill-berries, two kinds;—black, and sky-coloured, which is more frequent.<sup>8</sup>

[60] *To cool the Heat of Feavers, and quench Thirst.*

They are very good to allay the burning heat of feavers and hot agues, either in syrup or conserve.

*A most excellent Summer Dish.*

They usually eat of them, put into a bason, with milk, and sweetned a little more with sugar and spice; or for cold

<sup>7</sup> See Josselyn's Voyages, p. 77. The first of the two plants which the author mentions here is probably *Aralia nudicaulis*, L. (wild sarsaparilla); and the other, *A. hispida*, Michx. The last, which is what is spoken of in the Voyages, has been recommended for medicinal properties by Prof. Peck.—*Wood and Bache, Dispens.*, p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> "*Attitaash* (whortleberries), of which there are divers sorts; sweet, like currants; some opening, some of a binding nature. *Sauttaash* are these currants dried by the natives, and so preserved all the year; which they beat to powder, and mingle it with their parched meal, and make a delicate dish which they call *sauttauhig*, which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake to the English."—*R. Williams, Key, &c.*, l. c., p. 221. The fruitful and wholesome American whortleberries, or bilberries, were, it is likely, a very pleasant discovery to our forefathers. It was, no doubt, those species that we call blueberries which they made most of, and particularly the low blueberry (*Vaccinium Pennsylvanicum*, Lam.) and the swamp-blueberry (*V. corymbosum*, L.). From these the common black whortleberry (*Gaylussacia resinosa*, Torr. and Gray) differs no less in quality than in structure. *Saté* (compare *sauttaash*, above), in Rasles Dict. of the Abnaki Language, l. c., p. 450, is rendered "*frâis, sans etre secs; lorsqu'ils s't secs, sikisa'tar.*"

stomachs, in sack. The Indians dry them in the sun, and sell them to the English by the bushell; who make use of them instead of currence, — putting of them into puddens, both boyled and baked, and into water-gruel.

Knot-berry, or clowde-berry; seldom ripe.<sup>9</sup>

Sumach, differing from all that I did ever see in the herbalists. Our English cattle devour it most abominably, leaving neither leaf nor branch; yet it sprouts again next spring.<sup>1</sup>

### *For Colds.*

The English use to boyl it in beer, and drink it for colds; and so do the Indians, from whom the English had the medicine.

Wild cherry. They grow in clusters, like [61] grapes; of the same bigness; blackish-red, when ripe; and of a harsh taste.<sup>2</sup>

### *For Fluxes.*

They are also good for fluxes.

Transplanted and manured, they grow exceeding fair.

<sup>9</sup> The cloud-berry — *Rubus chamemorus*, L. (Gerard, p. 1420) — is found in some parts of the subalpine region of the White Mountains; and Mr. Oakes detected it at Lubec, on the coast of Maine. It is common to both continents; and perhaps, therefore, as our author gives his cloud-berry a place in this division of his book, he may have meant something else.

<sup>1</sup> *Rhus*, L.; the species differing, as our author repeats in his Voyages (p. 71), "from all the kinds set down in our English herbals." Wood (N. Eng. Prospect, chap. v.) calls it "the dear shumach." Josselyn's account of the virtues of our species, here, and especially in the Voyages (*l. c.*), agrees so well with what Gerard says of the properties of the European tanner's sumach (*R. coriaria*, L.), that the latter may very likely have, in part, suggested the former. But see Cutler, *l. c.*, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> "The cherry-trees yield great store of cherries, which grow on clusters like grapes. They be much smaller than our English cherry; nothing near so good, if they be not fully ripe. They so furr the mouth, that the tongue will cleave to the roof, and the throat wax hoarse with swallowing those red bullies (as I may call them); being little better in taste" (that is, than bullaces). "English ordering may bring them to an English cherry; but they are as wild as the Indians." — *New-England's Prospect*, chap. v. The choke-cherry (*Cerasus Virginiana* (L.) DC.) and the wild cherry (*C. serotina* (Ehrh.) DC.) are meant.



Board-pine is a very large tree, two or three fadom about.<sup>3</sup>

*For Wounds.*

It yields a very sovereign turpentine for the curing of desperate wounds.

*For Stabbs.*

The Indians make use of the moss, boiled in spring water, for stabbs; pouring in the liquor, and applying the boiled moss, well stamp'd or beaten betwixt two stones.

*For Burning and Scalding.*

And, for burning and scalding, they first take out the fire with a strong decoction of alder-bark; then they lay upon it a playster of the bark of board-pine, first boyled tender, and beat to a playster betwixt two stones.

*To take Fire out of a Burn.*

One Christopher Luxe, a fisherman, having burnt his kneepan, was healed [62] again by an Indian webb, or wife (for so they call those women that have husbands). She first made a strong decoction of alder-bark, with which she took out the fire by imbrocation, or letting of it drop upon the sore, which would smoak notably with it. Then she playstered it with the bark of board-pine or hemlock-tree, boyled soft, and stamp't betwixt two stones till it was as thin as brown paper, and of the same colour. She annointed the playster with soyles oyl, and the sore likewise; then she laid it on warm; and sometimes she made use of the bark of the larch-tree.

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<sup>3</sup> *Pinus Strobus*, L. (white pine). "Of the body the English make large canows of 20 foot long, and two foot and a half over; hollowing of them with an adds, and shaping of the outside like a boat." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 64; where is more concerning the use of this tree in medicine. "I have seen," says Wood, "of these stately, high-grown trees, ten miles together, close by the river-side; from whence, by shipping, they might be conveyed to any desired port." — *New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. v.



*To eat out proud Flesh in a Sore.*

And, to eat out the proud flesh, they take a kind of earth-nut, boyled and stamped; and, last of all, they apply to the sore the roots of water-lillies, boiled and stamped betwixt two stones to a playster.

*For Stitches.*

The fir-tree, or pitch-tree.<sup>4</sup> The tar that is made of all sorts of pitch-wood is an excellent thing to take away those desperate stitches of the sides which perpetually afflicteth those poor people that are [63] stricken with the plague of the back.

Note.—You must make a large toast, or cake, slit and dip it in the tar, and bind it warm to the side.

*The most common Diseases in New England.*

The black-pox, the spotted-feaver, the griping of the guts, the dropsie, and the sciatica, are the killing diseases in New England.

The larch-tree, which is the only tree of all the pines that sheds his leaves before winter; the other remaining green all the year. This is the tree from which we gather that useful purging excrense, agarick.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Abies balsamea* (L.) Marsh. (balsam-fir). "The fir-tree is a large tree, too; but seldom so big as the pine. The bark is smooth, with knobs, or blisters, in which lyeth clear liquid turpentine,—very good to be put into salves and oyntments. The leaves, or cones, boiled in beer, are good for the scurvie. The young buds are excellent to put into epithemes for warts and corns. The rosen is altogether as good as frankincense. . . . The knots of this tree and fat-pine are used by the English instead of candles; and it will burn a long time: but it makes the people pale" (Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 66); besides being, as Wood says (*l. c.*, speaking of the pine), "something sluttish." But Higginson says they "are very usefull in a house, and . . . burne as cleere as a torch." — *New-Eng. Plantation*, *l. c.*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Larix Americana*, Michx. (Larch; "*taccamahac*," Cutler; *tamarack*; *hackmatack*.) "Groundsels, made of larch-tree, will never rot; and the longer it lyes, the harder it growes, that you may almost drive a nail into a bar of iron as easily as into that." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 68. "The turpentine that issueth from the cones of the larch-tree (which comes nearest of any to the right turpentine) is singularly good to heal wounds,

*For Wounds and Cuts..<sup>5</sup>*

The leaves and gum are both very good to heal wounds and cuts.

*For Wounds with Bruises.*

I cured once a desperate bruise with a cut upon the kneepan, with an ungent made with the leaves of the larch-tree, and hog's grease ; but the gum is best.

Spruce is a goodly tree ; of which they make masts for ships, and sail-yards. It is generally conceived, by those that have [64] skill in building of ships, that here is absolutely the best trees in the world ; many of them being three fathom about, and of great length.<sup>6</sup>

*An Achariston for the Scurvy.*

The tops of green spruce-boughs, boiled in bear, and drunk, is assuredly one of the best remedies for the scurvy ; restoring the infected party in a short time. They also make a lotion of some of the decoction ; adding honey and allum.

Hemlock-tree, a kind of spruce. The bark of this tree serves to dye tawny. The fishers tan their sails and nets with it.<sup>7</sup>

and to draw out the malice (or thorn, as Helmont phrases it) of any ach ; rubbing the place therewith, and throwing upon it the powder of sage-leaves." — *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Abies nigra*, Poir. (black or double spruce), and probably also *A. alba*, Michx. (white or single spruce). At Pascataway there is now a spruce-tree, brought down to the water-side by our mass-men, of an incredible bigness, and so long that no skipper durst ever yet adventure to ship it ; but there it lyes and rots." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Abies Canadensis* (L.), Michx. (hemlock spruce). Beside the coniferous trees here set down, our author mentions in his *Voyages* (p. 67) "the white cedar, . . . a stately tree, and is taken by some to be tamarisk." This, which is probably our white cedar (*Cupressus thyoides*, L.), he says "the English saw into boards to floor their rooms ; for which purpose it is excellent, long-lasting, and wears very smooth and white. Likewise they make shingles to cover their houses with, instead of tyle. It will never warp." Wood (New-Eng. Prospect, chap. v.) makes mention of a "cedar-tree, . . . a tree of no great growth ; not bearing above a foot and a half, at the most ; neither is it very high. . . . This wood is more desired for ornament than substance ; being of colour red and white, like eugh ; smelling as sweet as juniper. It is commonly used for ceiling of houses, and making of chests, boxes, and staves." This seems likely to

*To break Sore or Swelling.*

The Indians break and heal their swellings and sores with it; boyling the inner bark of young hemlock very well; then knocking of it betwixt two stones to a playster; and, annointing or soaking it in soyls' oyl, they apply it to the sore. It will break a sore swelling speedily.

One-berry, *Herba Paris*, or true-love.<sup>8</sup>

Sassafras, or ague-tree.<sup>9</sup>

[65] *For Heat in Feavers.*

The chips of the root, boyled in beer, is excellent to allay the hot rage of feavers; being drunk.

*For Bruises and dry Blowes.*

The leaves of the same tree are very good, made into an oyntment, for bruises and dry blows. The bark of the root we use instead of cinamon; and it is sold at the Barbadoes for two shillings the pound.

And why may not this be the bark the Jesuit's powder was made of, that was so famous, not long since, in England, for agues?

Cranberry, or bearberry (because bears use much to feed upon them), is a small, trayling plant, that grows in salt-marshes that are overgrown with moss. The tender branches, which are reddish, run out in great length, lying flat on the ground; where, at distances, they take root, overspreading sometimes half a score acres, sometimes in small patches of

have been the American *Arbor vitæ* (*Thya occidentalis*, L.); also called white-cedar.—Compare Emerson, *Trees and Shrubs of Mass.*, pp. 96, 100. For mention of the juniper, see *ante*, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 81; and *ante*, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> *Sassafras officinale*, Nees. "This tree growes not beyond Black Point, eastward."—*Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 68. Michaux (*Sylva*, vol. ii. p. 144) says, "The neighbourhood of Portsmouth . . . may be assumed as one of the extreme points at which it is found towards the north-east;" but, according to Mr. Emerson (*Trees and Shrubs of Mass.*, p. 322), it is "found as far north as Canada," though . . . "there a small tree."

about a rood or the like. The leaves are like box, but greener, — thick and glistering. The blossoms are very like the flowers of [66] our English night-shade; after which succeed the berries, hanging by long, small foot-stalks, no bigger than a hair. At first, they are of a pale-yellow colour; afterwards red, and as big as a cherry: some perfectly round, others oval; all of them hollow; of a sower, astringent taste. They are ripe in August and September.<sup>1</sup>

*For the Scurvy.*

They are excellent against the scurvy.

*For the Heat in Feavers.*

They are also good to allay the fervour of hot diseases.

The Indians and English use them much, boyling them with sugar for sauce to eat with their meat; and it is a delicate sauce, especially for roasted mutton. Some make tarts with them as with gooseberries.

Vine, much differing in the fruit; all of them very fleshy: some reasonably pleasant; others have a taste of gunpowder, — and these grow in swamps, and low, wet grounds.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vaccinium macrocarpum*, Ait. Our author seems not to have known the European cranberry (*V. oxycoccus*, L., the marish-wortes, or fenne-berries, of Gerard, p. 1419); which is also found in our cold bogs, especially upon mountains. This is called by Sir W. J. Hooker (Br. Fl., vol. i. p. 178), "far superior to the foreign *V. macrocarpon*;" but, from Gerard's account, it should appear that it was formerly much less thought of in England than was ours (according to Josselyn) here, by both Indians and English. Linnæus speaks of the European fruit in much the same way, in 1737, in his *Flora of Lapland*, where he says, "*Baccæ hæc a Lapponibus in usum cibarium non vocantur, nec facile ab aliis nationibus, cum nimis acide sint*" (Fl. Lapp., p. 145): but corrects this in a paper on the esculent plants of Sweden, in 1752; asking, not without animation, "*Hurum vero cum saccharo preparata gelatina, quid in mensis nostris jucundius?*" (Amæn. Acad., t. iii. p. 86.) Our American cranberry was probably the "*sasemineash* — another sharp, cooling fruit, growing in fresh waters all the winter; excellent in conserve against fevers" — of R. Williams, Key, l. c., p. 221. — Compare *Masimin*, rendered [fruits] "*rouges petits*." — *Rasles' Dict., Abnaki*, l. c., p. 460.

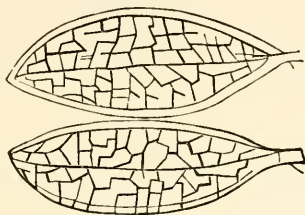
<sup>2</sup> Wood says the "vines afford great store of grapes, which are very big, both for the grape and cluster; sweet and good. These be of two sorts, — red and white. There is likewise a smaller kind of grape which groweth in the islands" (that is, of Massachusetts Bay), "which is sooner ripe, and more delectable: so that there is no known

[67] 3. *Of such Plants as are proper to the Country, and have no Name.*

(1.)

Pirola, or winter-green. That kind which grows with us in England is common in New England.<sup>3</sup> But there is another plant which I judge to be a kind of pirola, and proper to this country; a very beautiful plant. The shape of the leaf, and the just bigness of it, you may see in the figure.

THE LEAF OF THE PLANT JUDGED TO BE A KIND OF PIROLA.



The ground whereof is a sap-green; embroydered, as it were, with many pale-yellow ribs. The whole plant, in shape, is [68] like *Semper vivum*, but far less; being not above a handful high; with one slender stalk, adorned with small, pale-yellow flowers, like the other pirola. It groweth not everywhere, but in some certain small spots overgrown with

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reason why as good wine may not be made in those parts, as well as Bordeaux in France; being under the same degree." — *New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. v. "Vines," says Mr. Graves (in *New-Eng. Plantation*, Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 124) "doe grow here, plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that ever I saw. Some I have seene foure inches about." — "Our Governour," adds Higginson, "hath already planted a vineyard, with great hope of encrease." — *New-England's Plantation*, l. c., p. 119. *Vitis Labrusca*, L. (fox-grape), — for some principal varieties of which, see Emerson, l. c., p. 468, — furnished, probably, most of the sorts known favorably to the first settlers; but *V. æstivalis*, Michx. (summer grape), also occurs on our seaboard.

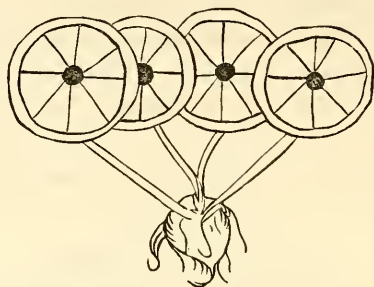
<sup>3</sup> *Pyrola*, L., emend. (Gerard, p. 408). All but one of our species are common also to Europe.



moss, close by swamps, and shady. They are green both summer and winter.<sup>4</sup>

*For Wounds.*

They are excellent wound-herbs; but this I judge to be the better by far. *Probatum est.*



(2.)

This plant was brought to me by a neighbour, who, wandering in the woods to find out his strayed cattle, lost himself [69] for two dayes; being, as he ghessed, eight or ten miles from the seaside. The root was pretty thick, and black; having a number of small black strings growing from it: the stalks of the leaves about a handful long. The leaves were round, and as big as a silver five-shilling piece; of a sap or dark-green colour; with a line, or ribb, as black as jeat, round the circumference; from whence came black lines, or ribs, at equal distance,—all of them meeting in a black spot in the center.<sup>5</sup> If I had staid longer in the country, I should have

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<sup>4</sup> *Goodyera pubescens* (Willd.), R. Br., is plainly meant by the author; and the common name of the plant—rattlesnake plantain—still preserves the memory of its supposed virtues as a wound-herb. It seems, by the next page, that Josselyn tried to carry living specimens to England; but they “perished at sea.” The putting this among the *Pyrolæ* (as if by some confusion of *Goodyera* with *Chimophila maculata*) was a bad mistake.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 55; where the author refers to his figures of two kinds of “*Pyrola*,” of which this must be one. The Voyages (p. 202) also make mention of an adventure



purposely made a journey into those parts where it was gathered, to discover, if possible, the stalk and flower. But now I shall refer it to those that are younger, and better able to undergo the pains and trouble of finding it out: for I understood by the natives, that it is not common,—that is, everywhere to be found,—no more than the embroydered pirola; which also is a most elegant plant, and which I did endeavour to bring over; but it perished at sea.

### *For Wounds.*

Clowne's all-heal of New England is another wound-herb not inferiour to [70] ours, but rather beyond it. Some of our English practitioners take it for vervene, and use it for the same; wherein they are grossly mistaken.

The leaf is like a nettle-leaf, but narrower and longer; the stalk about the bigness of a nettle-stalk,—champhered and hollow, and of a dusky-red colour. The flowers are blew, small, and many,—growing in spoky tufts at the top,—and are not hooded, but having only four round leaves; after which followeth an infinite of small, longish, light-brown seed. The roots are knotty, and matted together with an infinite number of small white strings. The whole plant is commonly two cubits high; bitter in taste, with a rosenie savour.<sup>6</sup>

of a neighbor of Josselyn's, who, "rashly wandering out after some stray'd cattle, lost his way; and coming, as we conceived by his Relation, near to the head-spring of some of the branches of Black-Point River or Saco River, light into a tract of land, for God knows how many miles, full of delfes and dingles and dangerous precipices, rocks, and inextricable difficulties, which did justly daunt, yea, quite deter him from endeavouring to pass any further." And this account may quite possibly relate to the same occasion of our author's getting acquainted with his "elegant plant." Plukenet (*Amalth.*, p. 94; *Phytogr.*, tab. 287, f. 5) mistakenly refers Josselyn's "sufficiently unhappy figure" to his *Filix Hemionitis dicta Maderensis*; which is *Adiantum reniforme*, L.

<sup>6</sup> "There is a plant, likewise,—called, for want of a name, clowne's wound-wort, by the English: though it be not the same,—that will heal a green wound in 24 hours, if a wise man have the ordering of it."—*Voyages*, p. 60. *Verbena hastata*, L. (blue

(3.)

This plant is one of the first that springs up, after white hellibore, in the like wet and black grounds, commonly by hellibore; with a sheath, or hood, like dragons: but the pestle

[71]



vervain), is perhaps, notwithstanding the author's disclaimer, what he had in view. This is certainly different from the common, once officinal, vervain of Europe (*V. officinalis*, L.),—on the virtues of which, as a wound-herb, see Gerard, p. 718; but yet more so from true clown's all-heal (Gerard, p. 1005), which is *Stachys palustris*, L. As to other medicinal properties of our vervains, compare Cutler, *l. c.*, p. 405,—where they are said to have been used by the surgeons of our army in the Revolutionary War,—and Wood and Bache, *Dispens.*, p. 1403.

is of another shape ; that is, having a round purple ball on the top of it, beset (as it were) with burs. The hood shoots forth immediately from the root, before any leaf appears ; having a green [72] sprig growing fast by it, like the smaller horse-tayl. About the latter end of April, the hood and sprig wither away ; and there comes forth in the room a bud, like the bud of the walnut-tree, but bigger. The top of it is of a pale-green colour ; covered with brown skins, like an onion ; white underneath the leaves, which spread, in time, out of the bud, grow from the root with a stalk a foot long, and are as big as the great burdock-leaves, and of the colour. The roots are many, and of the bigness of the steel of a tobacco-pipe, and very white. The whole plant sents as strong as a fox. It continues till August.<sup>7</sup>

[74] (4.)

This plant the humming-bird feedeth upon. It groweth likewise in wet grounds, and is not at its full growth till July ; and then it is two cubits high, and better. The leaves are thin, and of a pale-green colour ; some of them as big as a nettle-leaf. It spreads into many branches, — knotty at the setting-on, and of a purple colour, and garnished on the top with many hollow, dangling flowers, of a bright-yellow colour ; speckled with a deeper yellow, as it were shadowed. The

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<sup>7</sup> *Symplocarpus fetidus* (L.) Salisb. (skunk-cabbage). Our author's appears to be the first figure and account of this curious plant, which he rightly places among such "as are proper to the country, and have no name." Cutler's description, in 1785 (Account of Indig. Veg., l. c., pp. 407-9), — which is followed by the remark, that "the fructification so essentially differs from all the genera of this order, it must undoubtedly be considered as a new genus," — was the next contribution of importance, and so continued till Dr. Bigelow's elaborate history ; — *Amer. Med. Bot.*, vol. ii. p. 41, pl. xxiv. Josselyn's "sprig" of a horse-tail might perhaps be added to his *Filices*, at p. 47, note 2, 3.

[73] A BRANCH OF THE HUMMING-BIRD TREE.



stalkes are as hollow as a kix; and so are the roots, which are transparent, very tender, and full of a yellowish juice.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Impatiens fulva*, Nutt. (touch-me-not; balsam). Wilson says this plant "is the greatest favorite with the humming-bird of all our other flowers. In some places where these plants abound, you may see at one time ten or twelve humming-birds darting about, and fighting with and pursuing each other." — *Amer. Ornithol.*, by Brewer, p. 120. As to Josselyn's note on its use in medicine by the Indians, compare Wood and Bache, *Disp.*, p. 1345. A kix, or kex, or kexy, — used in the expression, "hollow

*For Bruises and Aches upon stroaks.*

The Indians make use of it for aches; being bruised between two stones, and laid to, cold. But, made (after the English manner) into an unguent, with hog's grease, there is not a more sovereign remedy for bruises, of what kind soever; and for aches upon stroaks.

In August, 1670, in a swamp amongst alders, I found a sort of tree sow-thistle; the stalks of some, two or three inches [75] about; as hollow as a kix, and very brittle. The leaves were smooth, and, in shape, like *Sonchus lœvis*,—that is, hare's-lettice,—but longer; some about a foot. These grow at a distance one from another, almost to the top; where it begins to put forth flowers between the leaves and the stalk. The top of the stalk runs out into a spike, beset about with flowers like sow-thistle, of a blew or azure colour. I brought home one of the plants, which was between twelve and thirteen foot in length. I wondered at it the more, for that so large and tall a plant should grow from so small a root, consisting of slender, white strings, little bigger than bents, and not many of them, and none above a finger long, spreading under the upper crust of the earth. The whole plant is full of milk, and of a strong savour.<sup>9</sup>

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as a kix,"—is a provincialism, in various parts of England, for hemlock; "the dry, hollow stalks of hemlock" (whence Webster's query,—Fr., *cique*; Lat., *cicuta*); and also of cow-parsley, according to Holloway (Dict. of Provincialisms): that is to say, secondarily, any hollow-stemmed plant like hemlock. Gerard's figure of *Impatiens noli tangere*, L., the European balsam,—of which the earlier botanists considered our species to be varieties,—is so poor, and the plant so rare in Britain, that it is perhaps little wonder that our author took the showy American balsam to be quite new.

<sup>9</sup> *Mulgedium leucophæum*, DC. (Gray, Manual, p. 241). This fine plant is peculiar to America.

(5.)

This plant I found in a gloomy, dry wood, under an oak, 1670, the 18th of August. Afterwards I found it in open champain grounds, but yet somewhat scarce. The root is about the bigness of a French walnut. The bark thereof is

[76] THE PLANT WHEN IT SPRINGS UP FIRST.



brown and rugged; within, of a yellowish colour: from whence ariseth a slender stalk, no bigger than an oat-straw; about two cubits in height. Somewhat better than a handful above the root shooteth out one leaf, of a grass-green colour; and, an inch or two above that, another leaf; and so four or five, at a greater distance one from another, till they come within a handful of the top, where, upon slender foot-stalks, grow the flowers,—four or five, more or fewer,—clustering together in pale, long, green husks, milk-white; consisting of ten small leaves, snipt a little on the edges; with purple hair threads in the midst. The whole plant is of a brakish tast. When it is at its full growth, the stalks are as red as blood.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Nabalus albus* (L.) Hook. (snake-weed): the genus peculiar to America.



[77] THE FIGURE OF THE PLANT, WHEN IT IS AT FULL GROWTH.

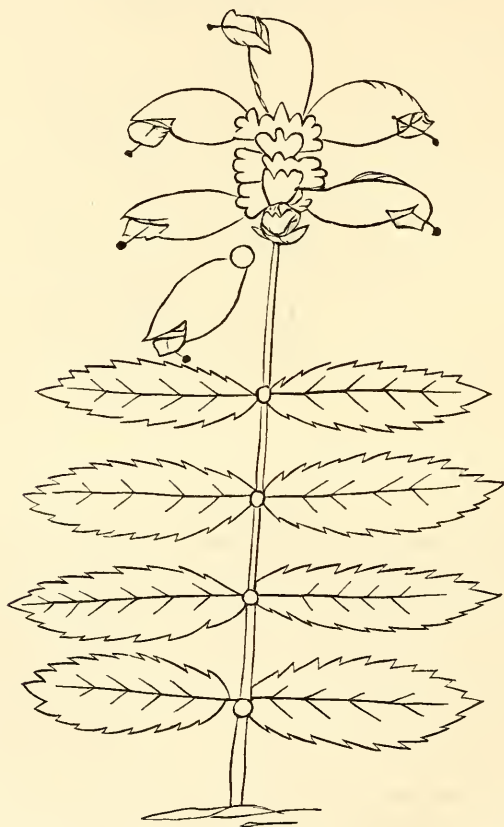


[79] (6.)

This plant flowers in August, and grows in wet ground. It is about three or four foot in height; having a square, slender stalk, chamfered, hollow, and tuff. The leaves grow at certain distances, one against another; of the colour of egrimony leaves; sharpe-pointed; broadest in the midst about an inch and half, and three or four inches in length; snipt about the edges, like a nettle-leaf; at the top of the stalk, for four or five inches, thick-set with pale-green husks, out of which the flowers grow; consisting of one leaf, shaped like the head of a serpent, opening at the top like a mouth, and hollow throughout, containing four crooked pointels; and, on the top of every pointel, a small, glistening, green button, covered with a little white, woolly matter, by which they are,

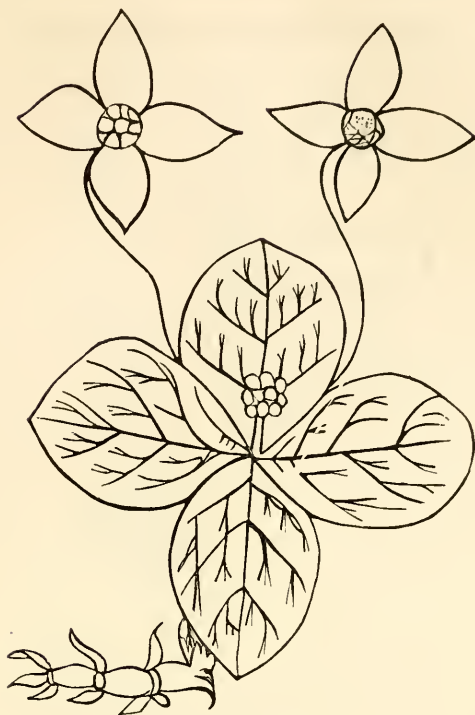
with the pointels, fastened close together, and shore up the tip of the upper chap. The crooked pointels are very stiff and hard from the bottom of the husks, wherein the flower stands. From the top of the seed-vessel shoots out a white thread, which runs in at the bottom of the flower, and so [80] out at the mouth. The whole flower is milk-white; the inside of the chaps reddish. The root I did not observe.<sup>2</sup>

[78]



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<sup>2</sup> *Chelone glabra*, L. (snake-head). Plukenet quotes this figure under *Digitalis Verbesinæ foliis*, &c. (Amalth., p. 71; Mant., p. 64); which is referred by Linnæus to *Gerardia pedicularis*, L. Plukenet has himself figured our plant, and but little better than Josselyn, in *Phytogr.*, t. 348, fig. 3. The genus is peculiar to America.



[81] (7.)

This plant I take for a variegated *Herb Paris* (true-love or one-berry, or rather one-flower), which is milk-white, and made up with four leaves, with many black threads in the middle. Upon every thread grows a berry (when the leaves of the flower are fallen), as big as a white pease, of a light-red colour when they are ripe, and clustering together in a round form as big as a pullet's egg, which at distance shows but as one berry; very pleasant in taste, and not unwholesome. The root, leaf, and flower differ not from our English kind; and their time of blooming and ripening agree; and therefore, doubtless, a kind of *Herba Paris*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Upon this figure, Plukenet founds his *Solanum quadrifolium* Nov' Anglicanum, flore lacteo polycoccum (Amalth., p. 195); clearly taking the plant, as Josselyn did, for "a

[82] THE SMALL SUNFLOWER, OR MARYGOLD, OF AMERICA.

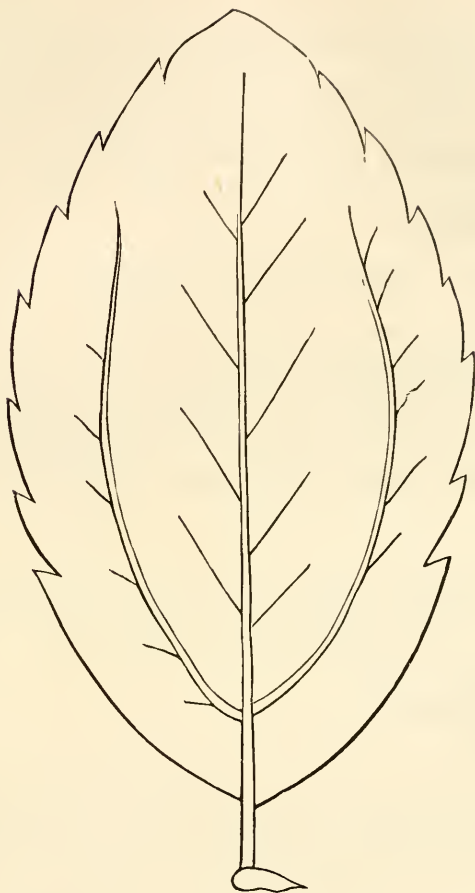


[84] (8.)

This plant is taken by our simplists to be a kind of golden-rod; by others, for *Sarazens Consound*. I judge it to be a

kind of *Herba Paris*" (*Paris quadrifolia*, L.), which is *Solanum quadrifolium bacciferum* of Bauhin (Pin., p. 167, cit. L.). The plant is doubtless *Cornus Canadensis*, L. (dwarf-cornel; bunch-berry); and it certainly resembles the figure of *Herb Paris*, given by Gerard (p. 405), much more than that of *Cornus suecica*, L. (European dwarf-cornel, p. 1296),—a shrub ill understood by the old botanists.

[83]



kind of small sun-flower, or marygold of the West Indies. The root is brown and slender, a foot and half in length, running a slope under the upper face of the earth; with some strings here and there: the stalk as big as the steal of a tobacco-pipe; full of pith; commonly brownish, sometimes purple; three or four foot high. The leaves grow at a distance one against another; rough; hard; green above, and gray underneath; slightly snipt; and the ribs appear most on the back side of the leaf. The flower is of a bright yellow, with

little yellow cups in the midst, as in the marygold of Peru; with black threads in them, with yellow pointels. The flower spreads itself abroad out of a cup made up of many green beards, not unlike a thistle. Within a handful of the top of the stalk, when the flower is fallen, growes an excrence, or knob, as big as a walnut; which, being broken, yieldeth a kind of turpentine, or rather rosen.<sup>4</sup>

[85] *What Cutchenele is.*

The stalk beneath and above the knob covered with a multitude of small bugs, about the bigness of a great flea; which I presume will make good cutchenele,—ordered, as they should be, before they come to have wings. They make a perfect scarlet colour to paint with, and durable.

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4. *Of such Plants as have sprung up since the English planted and kept Cattle in New England.*<sup>5</sup>

Couch-grass.<sup>6</sup>

Shepherd's-purse.<sup>7</sup>

Dandelion.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Helianthus*, L., sp. (sun-flower); a genus peculiar to America. The species is perhaps *H. strumosus*, L. (Gray, Man., p. 218).—See p. 56 of this book; note.

<sup>5</sup> The importance of this list has been already spoken of. Its value depends on its having been drawn up by a person of familiarity with some of the botanical writers of his day, as part of a botanical treatise; and the (in this case) not unfair presumption that the names cited are *meant* to be accurate. Mr. A. De Candolle (*Geogr. Botanique*, vol. ii. p. 746) appears to be unacquainted with any authority for the naturalized plants of the Northern States earlier than the first edition of the *Florula* of Dr. Bigelow, in 1814. The treatise of Cutler extends this limit to 1785; and that of Josselyn, so far as it goes, to 1672.

<sup>6</sup> Doubtful. Gerard's couch-grass, p. 23, appears to be *Holcus mollis*, L.,—"the true couch-grass of sandy soils" in England; and English agricultural writers reckon yet other grasses of this name, beside the well-known *Triticum repens*, L.

<sup>7</sup> Gerard, p. 276,—*Capsella Bursa Pastoris* (L.), Moench. "Cornfields, and about barns,"—Cutler (1785), *l. c.* Naturalized.

<sup>8</sup> Gerard, p. 290,—*Taraxacum Dens Leonis*, Desf.; looked, to our author, like a new-comer. Dr. Gray (Man., p. 239; and comp. Torr. and Gray, Fl., vol. ii. p. 494) regards it as "probably indigenous in the north," but only naturalized in other regions. "Grass-land,"—Cutler (1785), *l. c.*



Groundsel.<sup>9</sup>

Sow-thistle.<sup>1</sup>

Wild arrach.<sup>2</sup>

Night-shade, with the white flower.<sup>3</sup>

Nettles stinging, which was the first plant taken notice of.<sup>4</sup>

Mallows.<sup>5</sup>

[86] Plantain, which the Indians call Englishman's foot; as though produced by their treading.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Gerard, p. 278, — *Senecio vulgaris*, L.; one of the *adventive* naturalized plants, as defined by Mr. De Candolle (*l. c.*, vol. ii. p. 688; and Gray, *Man. Bot.*, pref., p. viii.), according to the evidence of Dr. Darlington (*Fl. Cestr.*, p. 152), and Gray, *l. c.* But it has long been a common weed in eastern New England; and may possibly have had, here and there, a continuous existence from the first settlement.

<sup>1</sup> *Sonchus*, L. *S. oleraceus*, L., as understood by Linnæus, was no doubt intended: but this is now taken to include two species, both recognized in this country (Gray, *l. c.*, p. 241); between which there is no evidence to authorize a decision.

<sup>2</sup> The genera *Chenopodium*, L., and *Atriplex*, L., were much confused in Josselyn's day; and his wild orach may belong to either. Gerard's wild orach is in part *Atriplex patula*, L. (p. 326); but the first species to which he gives this name (p. 325) is *Chenopodium polyspermum*, L. The latter is a rare, *adventive* member of our Flora (Gray, *l. c.*, p. 363); and the former is, according to Bigelow (*Fl. Bost.*, ed. 3, p. 401), the well-known orach of our salt-marshes: but Dr. Gray now refers this (*Man.*, p. 365) to the nearly allied *A. hastata*, L. This plant, in either case, is reckoned truly common to both continents. It is possible that Josselyn intended it.

<sup>3</sup> Garden nightshade (Gerard, p. 339); *Solanum nigrum*, L. "Common among rubbish," — *Cutler* (1785), *l. c.* Naturalized.

<sup>4</sup> Common stinging-nettle, or great nettle (Gerard, p. 706), — *Urtica dioica*, L.

<sup>5</sup> Field-mallow (Gerard, p. 930), *Malva sylvestris*, L., and wild dwarf-mallow (*ibid.*), *M. rotundifolia*, L., are the only sorts likely to have been in view. The latter was, I doubt not, intended; and the former, *adventive* only with us, may also have occurred at any period after the settlement.

<sup>6</sup> "It is but one sort, and that is broad-leaved plantain" (Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 188). Broad-leaved plantain (Gerard, p. 419), — *Plantago major*, L.; one of the most anciently and widely known of plants, and inhabiting, at present, all the great divisions of the earth. An account, similar to our author's, of the name given to it by the American savages, is found in Kalm's *Travels*. "Mr. Bartram had found this plant in many places on his travels; but he did not know whether it was an original American plant, or whether the Europeans had brought it over. This doubt had its rise from the savages (who always had an extensive knowledge of the plants of the country) pretending that this plant never grew here before the arrival of the Europeans. They therefore gave it a name which signifies the Englishman's foot; for they say, that, where a European had walked, there this plant grew in his footsteps." — *Kalm's Travels into North America*, by Forster, vol. i. p. 92. But Dr. Pickering considers it possible, that, in North-west America at least, the plantain was introduced by the aborigines (Races of *Man*, pp. 317, 320): and, uncertain as this is admitted to be, the old vulgar names of

Black henbane.<sup>7</sup>

Wormwood.<sup>8</sup>

Sharp-pointed dock.<sup>9</sup>

Patience.<sup>1</sup>

Bloodwort.<sup>2</sup>

the plant in Northern languages—as *Wegerich* and *Wegetritt* of the German, *Weegblad* and *Weegbree* of the Dutch, *Veibred* of the Danish, and *Weybred* of old English, all pointing to the plantain's growing on ways trodden by man—suggest, perhaps, a far older supposed relation between this plant and the human foot than that mentioned above; and thus favor the derivation of the original Latin name (as old as Pliny, H. N., vol. xxxv. § 539) from *planta*, the sole of the foot,—whether because the plantain is always trodden on, or, taking the termination *go* in *plantago*, as some philologists take it, to signify likeness (as doubtless in *lappago*, *mollugo*, *asperugo*; but this signification does not appear so clear in some other words with the like ending), because its leaves resemble the sole of the foot in flatness, breadth, marking, and so on. The possible derivation from *planta*, a plant, “*per excellentiam, quasi plantam præstantissimam*” (Tournef., Inst., vol. i. p. 128), though less open to question than that of Linnæus (“*planta tangenda*,” Phil. Bot., § 234), is certainly less significant than the other; which, with the statements (independent, so far as appears, of each other) of Josselyn and Kalm, if these may be relied on, seems to point to a very ancient co-incidence of thought, not unworthy of attention. Something else of the same sort is to be found in R. Williams, where he says (Key, l. c., p. 218) that the Massachusetts Indians called the constellation of the Great Bear *mosk*, or *pawkunnawaw*; that is, the bear.

<sup>7</sup> Gerard, p. 353, — *Hyoscyamus niger*, L. *Adventive* only: having “escaped from gardens to roadsides,” according to Dr. Gray (Man., p. 340); but “common amongst rubbish and by roadsides” in 1785 (Cutler, l. c.), and perhaps long naturalized on the coasts of Massachusetts Bay.

<sup>8</sup> Broad-leaved wormwood, “our common and best-knowne wormwood” (Gerard, p. 1096), — *Artemisia absinthium*, L. “Roadsides and amongst rubbish,” 1785, — Cutler, l. c. Omitted by Bigelow, and not very frequent.

<sup>9</sup> Gerard, p. 388. If this is to be taken for *Rumex acutus*, Sm. (Fl. Brit.), which seems not to be certain, it is now referable to *R. conglomeratus*, Murr., which is “sparingly introduced” with us, according to Gray (Man., p. 377). But it is more likely that Josselyn had *R. crispus*, L. (curled dock), in view: which is, I suppose, the “varietie” of sharp-pointed dock, “with crisped or curled leaves,” of Johnson’s Gerard, p. 387; and is the only mention of the species by those authors.

<sup>1</sup> Gerard, p. 389, — *Rumex Patientia*, L. This and the next were garden pot-herbs of repute: and, at p. 90, our author brings them in again as such; telling us that bloodwort grows “but sorrily,” but patience “very pleasantly.” This may very likely have crept out of some garden: but the great water-dock (*R. Hydrolapathum*, Huds.) is, says Gerard, “not unlike to the garden patience” (p. 390); and Dr. Gray says the same of the American variety of the former. — Man., p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Gerard, p. 390, — *Rumex sanguineus*, L., “sown for a pot-herb in most gardens” (Gerard); and so our author, p. 90. Linnæus took it to be originally American: but it is common in Europe; and Dr. Gray marks the American plant as naturalized. Dr. Torrey indicated the species as occurring about New York in 1819 (Catal. Pl., N.Y.); but New-England botanists do not appear to have recognized it. Josselyn’s plant was perhaps the offcast of some garden.

And, I suspect, adder's-tongue.<sup>3</sup>

Knot-grass.<sup>4</sup>

Cheek-weed.<sup>5</sup>

Compherie, with the white flower.<sup>6</sup>

May-weed; excellent for the mother. Some of our English housewives call it iron-wort, and make a good unguent for old sores.<sup>7</sup>

The great clot-bur.<sup>8</sup>

Mullin, with the white flower.<sup>9</sup>

Q. What became of the influence of those planets that produce and govern these plants before this time?

I have now done with such plants as grow wild in the country in great plenty, although I have not mentioned all.

<sup>3</sup> Gerard, p. 404. — Compare p. 42 of this; where our author more correctly reckons it among plants truly common to Europe and America.

<sup>4</sup> "Common knot-grass" (Gerard, p. 565), — *Polygonum aviculare*, L. Common to all the great divisions of the earth, and reckoned indigenous in America. — *De Cand.*, *Geogr. Bot.*, vol. i. p. 577; *Gray, Man.*, p. 373.

<sup>5</sup> There are many chickweeds in Gerard; but that most likely to have been in the author's view here is the universally known common chickweed, — the middle or small chickweed of Gerard, p. 611. This was "common in gardens and rich cultivated ground" in 1785. — *Cutler, l. c.* Few plants have spread so widely over the earth as *Stellaria media*.

<sup>6</sup> Great comfrey (Gerard, p. 806), — *Symphytum officinale*, L.: also in the list of garden herbs at p. 90. "Sometimes found growing wild," — *Cutler* (1785), *l. c.* Not admitted by Dr. Bigelow (*Fl. Bost.*), but included by Dr. Gray as an *adventive*. — *Man.*, p. 320.

<sup>7</sup> Gerard, p. 757, — *Maruta cotula* (L.), DC.; a naturalized member of our Flora, now become a very common ornament of roadsides; where *Cutler* notices it, also, in 1785.

<sup>8</sup> "Great burre-dock, or clott-burre" (Gerard, p. 809), — *Lappa major*, Gaertn. "About barns," — *Cutler* (1785), *l. c.*

<sup>9</sup> "White-floured mullein" (Gerard, p. 773), — perhaps *Verbascum Lychnitis*, L.; which is *adventive* in some parts of the United States (*Gray, Man.*, p. 283), but is not otherwise known to have made its appearance in New England. Great mullein (*V. Thapsus* L.) was "common" in *Cutler's* time. The moth-mullein (*V. Blattaria*, L.) he only knew "by roadsides in Lynn" (*l. c.*, p. 419). Other plants referable to this list of naturalized weeds are "wild sorrel," p. 42; *Polygonum Persicaria*, p. 43; St. John's wort, speedwell, chickweed, male fluellin, catmint, and clot-bur, p. 44; yarrow, and oak of Jerusalem, p. 46; pimpernel, and toadflax, p. 48; and wild purslane, and woad-waxen, p. 51. See also spearmint, and ground-ivy, p. 89; and elecampane, celandine, and tansy, p. 90.

I shall now, in the fifth place, give you to under[87]stand what English herbs we have growing in our gardens, that prosper there as well as in their proper soil; and of such as do not; and also of such as will not grow there at all.

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5. *Of such Garden-Herbs amongst us as do thrive there, and of such as do not.*<sup>1</sup>

Cabbidge growes there exceeding well.

Lettice.

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<sup>1</sup> The earliest, almost the only account that we have of the gardens of our fathers, after they had settled themselves in their *New England*, and had tamed its rugged coasts to obedience to English husbandry. What with their garden beans, and Indian beans, and pease ("as good as ever I eat in England," says Higginson in 1629); their beets, parsnips, turnips, and carrots ("our turnips, parsnips, and carrots are both bigger and sweeter than is ordinary to be found in England," says the same reverend writer); their cabbages and asparagus, — both thriving, we are told, exceedingly; their radishes and lettuce; their sorrel, parsley, chervil, and marigold, for pot-herbs; and their sage, thyme, savory of both kinds, clary, anise, fennel, coriander, spearmint, and pennyroyal, for sweet herbs, — not to mention the Indian pompions and melons and squanter-squashes, "and other odde fruits of the country," — the first-named of which had got to be so well approved among the settlers, when Josselyn wrote in 1672, that what he calls "the ancient New-England standing dish" (we may well call it so now!) was made of them; and, finally, their pleasant, familiar flowers, lavender-cotton and hollyhocks and satin ("we call this herbe, in Norfolke, sattin," says Gerard; "and, among our women, it is called honestie") and gillyflowers, which meant pinks as well, and dear English roses, and eglantine, — yes, possibly, hedges of eglantine (p. 90, note), — surely the gardens of New England, fifty years after the settlement of the country, were as well stocked as they were a hundred and fifty years after. Nor were the first planters long behindhand in fruit. Even at his first visit, in 1639, our author was treated with "half a score very fair pippins," from the Governor's Island in Boston Harbor; though there was then, he says (*Voyages*, p. 29), "not one apple tree nor pear planted yet in no part of the countrey but upon that island." But he has a much better account to give in 1671: "The quinces, cherries, damsons, set the dames a work. Marmalad and preserved damsons is to be met with in every house. Our fruit-trees prosper abundantly, — apple-trees, pear-trees, quince-trees, cherry-trees, plum-trees, barberry-trees. I have observed, with admiration, that the kernels sown, or the succors planted, produce as fair and good fruit, without grafting, as the tree from whence they were taken. The country is replenished with fair and large orchards. It was affirmed by one Mr. Woolcut (a magistrate in Connecticut Colony), at the Captain's messe (of which I was), aboard the ship I came home in, that he made five hundred hogsheads of syder out of his own orchard in one year." — *Voyages*, p. 189-90. Our barberry-bushes, now so familiar inhabitants of the hedgerows of Eastern New England, should seem from this to have come, with the eglantines, from the gardens of the first settlers. Barberries "are planted in most of our English gardens," says Gerard.

Sorrel.

Parsley.

Marygold.

French mallows.

Chervel.

Burnet.

Winter savory.

Summer savory.

Time.

Sage.

Carrats.

Parsnips, of a prodigious size.

Red beetes.

[88] Radishes.

Turnips.

Purslain.<sup>2</sup>

Wheat.<sup>3</sup>

Rye.

Barley, which commonly degenerates into oats.

Oats.

Pease of all sorts, and the best in the world. I never heard of, nor did see in eight years' time, one worm-eaten pea.

Garden beans.<sup>4</sup>

Naked oats<sup>5</sup> (there called silpee) ; an excellent grain, used instead of oat-meal. They dry it in an oven, or in a pan upon the fire ; then beat it small in a mortar.

<sup>2</sup> *Portulaca oleracea*, L.; *β. sativa*, L. (garden purslain). The wild variety is also reckoned by our author, in his list of plants, common to us and the Old World (p. 51).

<sup>3</sup> See Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Vicia Faba*, Willd., of which the Windsor bean is a variety. The author compares it, at p. 56, with kidney-beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*, L.), called Indian beans by the first settlers, who had them from the savages, to the advantage of the last-mentioned sort; which probably soon drove the other out of our gardens. — Compare Cobbett's *American Gardener*, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Gerard, p. 75, — *Arena nuda*, L.; derived from common oats (*A. sativa*, L.) according to Link; and also (in Gerard's time, and even later) in cultivation. It was called pillcorn, or peellcorn, because the graius, when ripe, drop naked from the husks. But



*Another standing Dish in New England.*

And, when the milk is ready to boil, they put into a pottle of milk about ten or twelve spoonfuls of this meal: so boil it leasurly; stirring of it, every foot, least it burn too. When it is almost boiled enough, they hang the kettle up higher, and let it stew only. In short time, it will thicken like a custard. They season it [89] with a little sugar and spice, and so serve it to the table in deep basons; and it is altogether as good as a white-pot.

*For People weakened with long Sickness.*

It exceedingly nourisheth and strengthens people weakened with long sickness.

Sometimes they make water-gruel with it; and sometimes thicken their flesh-broth either with this, or homminey, if it be for servants.

Spear-mint.<sup>6</sup>

Rew will hardly grow.

Fetherfew prospereth exceedingly.

Southern wood is no plant for this country; nor

Rosemary; nor

Bayes.<sup>7</sup>

is it not possible that our author's *Silpee* (comparable with *apee*, a leaf; *toopee*, a root; *ahpee*, a bow, in the Micmac language, — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vi., pp. 20, 24) was really the American name of the well-known water-oats, or Canada rice, — *Zizania aquatica*, L.; the deciduous grains of which are said to afford "a very good meal" (London, *Encycl.*, p. 788), with the qualities of rice? — See *Bigel*, *Fl. Bost.*, edit. 3, p. 369. This has long been used by our savages; but I have not met with any mention of it in the early writers. The "standing dish in New England" has its interest, if it were really made of Canada rice.

<sup>6</sup> Gerard, p. 680, — *Mentha viridis*, L. It perhaps soon became naturalized. "In moist ground" (1785). — *Cutler*, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps only an inference of the author's, from the southern origin of these three shrubs. Lavender also belongs naturally to a warmer climate.



White satten groweth pretty well; so doth

Lavender-cotton.<sup>8</sup> But

Lavender is not for the climate.

Pennyroyal.

Smalledge.

Ground-ivy, or ale-hoof.<sup>9</sup>

Gilly-flowers will continue two years.<sup>1</sup>

[90] Fennel must be taken up, and kept in a warm cellar all winter.

Housleek prospereth notably.

Hollyhocks.

*Enula Campagna*. In two years' time, the roots rot.<sup>2</sup>

Comferie, with white flowers.

Coriander and

Dill and

Annis thrive exceedingly; but annis-seed, as also the seed of fennel, seldom come to maturity. The seed of annis is commonly eaten with a fly.

Clary never lasts but one summer. The roots rot with the frost.

Sparagus thrives exceedingly; so does

Garden-sorrel, and

Sweet-bryer, or eglantine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Gerard, p. 1109, — *Santolina Chamæ Cyparissus*, L.

<sup>9</sup> Gerard, p. 856. — *Glechoma hederacea*, L.; once of great medicinal repute: which accounts for our author's finding it, as it should seem, among garden-herbs. It has become naturalized and very familiar in New England. Cutler finds it wild in 1785. Mr. Bentham refers it to *Nepeta*, but substitutes a new specific name for that given by Linnæus, which is based on the ancient names, and has at least the right of priority.

<sup>1</sup> "Gilliflowers thrive exceedingly there, and are very large. The collibuy, or humming-bird, is much pleased with them." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Elecampane (Gerard, p. 793), — *Inula Helenium*, L. "Roadsides" (1785), — *Cutler*, l. c.; and now extensively naturalized in New England.

<sup>3</sup> Gerard, p. 1272, — *Rosa rubiginosa*, L.; and *R. micrantha*, Sm. Since naturalized, especially in Eastern New England, and not uncommon on roadsides and in pastures. First indicated as a member of our Flora by Bigelow in 1824. — *Fl. Bost.*, in loc. "Eglantine, or sweet-bryer, is best sown with juniper-berries, — two or three to one

Bloodwort but sorrily; but

Patience<sup>4</sup> and

English roses very pleasantly.<sup>5</sup>

Celandine (by the west-countrymen called kenningwort) grows but slowly.<sup>6</sup>

Muschata, as well as in England.

Dittander, or pepperwort, flourisheth notably; and so doth Tansie.<sup>7</sup>

Musk-mellons are better than our English, and

[91] Cucumbers.

Pompions there be of several kinds; some proper to the country.<sup>8</sup> They are dryer than our English pompions, and better tasted. You may eat them green.

eglantine-berry, put into a hole made with a stick. The next year, separate and remove them to your banks. In three years' time, they will make a hedge as high as a man; which you may keep thick and handsome with cutting." — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 188. And what next goes before seems to show that the author picked up this information here; which is not uninteresting.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Brier-rose, or hep-tree (Gerard, p. 1270); "also called *Rosa canina*, which is a plant so common and well knowne, that it were to small purpose to use many words in the description thereof: for even children with great delight eat the berries thereof, when they be ripe,—make chaines and other prettie gewgawes of the fruit; cookes and gentlewomen make tarts, and such like dishes, for pleasure thereof," &c. (Gerard, l. c.). *Rosa canina*, L., was once the collective name of what are now understood as many distinct species; but that which still retains the name of dog-rose is reckoned the finest of native English roses. This familiar plant may well have been reared with tender interest in some New-England gardens of Josselyn's day; but it did not make a new home here, like the eglantine. Cutler gives the name of dog-rose to the Carolina rose, — *R. Carolina*, L., — which it has not kept; and he also makes it equivalent to the official *R. canina*. Our Flora will possibly one day include one or two other garden-roses. A damask rose is well established and spreading rapidly in mowing-land of the writer's, and elsewhere on roadsides of this county; and that general favorite, the cinnamon-rose, which is now naturalized in England, may yet become wild with us.

<sup>6</sup> Great celandine (Gerard, p. 1069), as the west-country name of kenning-wort — that is, sight-wort — makes manifest; the juice being once thought to be "good to sharpen the sight," — *Chelidonium majus*, L. Small celandine (*Ranunculus Ficaria*, L.) was quite another thing. The former had got to be "common by fences and amongst rubbish" in 1785 (Cutler, l. c.), and is now naturalized in Eastern New England.

<sup>7</sup> Gerard, p. 650, — *Tanacetum vulgare*, L. In "pastures" (1785). — Cutler, l. c. Now widely naturalized in New England.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 57, note. "The ancient New-England standing dish" was doubtless far better than Gerard's fried pompions (p. 921), and has more than held its own.

*The ancient New-England standing Dish.*

But the houswives' manner is to slice them when ripe, and cut them into dice, and so fill a pot with them of two or three gallons, and stew them upon a gentle fire a whole day; and, as they sink, they fill again with fresh pompions, not putting any liquor to them; and, when it is stew'd enough, it will look like bak'd apples. This they dish; putting butter to it, and a little vinegar (with some spice, as ginger, &c.); which makes it tart, like an apple; and so serve it up, to be eaten with fish or flesh. It provokes urin extreamly, and is very windy.

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[92] *Sixthly and lastly, of Stones, Minerals, Metals, and Earths.*<sup>1</sup>

As, first, the emerald; which grows in flat rocks, and is very good.

Rubies, which here are very watry.

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<sup>1</sup> "For such commodities as lie under ground, I cannot, out of mine own experience or knowledge, say much; having taken no great notice of such things: but it is certainly reported that there is iron-stone; and the Indians informed us that they can lead us to the mountains of black-lead; and have shown us lead-ore, if our small judgment in such things does not deceive us; and though nobody dare confidently conclude, yet dare they not utterly deny, but that the Spaniard's-bliss may lie hid in the barren mountains. Such as have coasted the country affirm that they know where to fetch sea-coal, if wood were scarce. There is plenty of stone, both rough and smooth, useful for many things; with quarries of slate, out of which they get coverings for houses; with good clay, whereof they make tiles and bricks and pavements for their necessary uses. For the country it is well watered as any land under the sun; every family, or every two families, having a spring of sweet water betwixt them; which is far different from the waters of England, being not so sharp, but of a fatter substance, and of a more jetty colour. . . . Those that drink it be as healthful, fresh, and lusty as they that drink beer." — *Wood, New-Eng. Prospect*, chap. v. "The humour and justness of" this writer's "account recommend him," says the editor of 1764, "to every candid mind." There is certainly no view of New England, as it was at its settlement, that surpasses Wood's in understanding, and homeborn English truth, not always without beauty. What he says in this place of "quarries of slate" points to a very early dis-

I have heard a story of an Indian that found a stone, up in the country (by a great pond), as big as an egg, that, in a dark night, would give a light to read by. But I take it to be but a story.

Diamond, which are very brittle, and therefore of little worth.

Crystal (called, by our west-countrymen, the kenning-stone), by Sebebug Pond, is found in considerable quantity. Not far from thence is a rock of crystal, called the moose-rock, because in shape like a moose; and

Muscovy-glass, both white and purple, of reasonable content.

Black-lead.<sup>2</sup>

Bole-armoniack.

[93] Red and yellow oker.

*Terra sigilla.*

Vitriol.

Antimony.

Arsnick, too much.

Lead.<sup>3</sup>

covery. Higginson says, in 1629 (New-Eng. Plantation, *l. c.*, p. 118), "Here is plenty of slates at the Isle of Slate in Masathulets Bay:" and there is a court order of July 2, 1633, granting "to Tho: Lambe, of slate in Slate Ileand, 10 poole towards the water-side, and 5 poole into the land, for three yeares; payeing the yearely rent of ijs. vjd." — *Mass. Col. Rec.*, vol. i. p. 106. There are other later grants of the same island, which "lies between Bumkin Island and Weymouth River." — *Pemberton, Desc. Bost.*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii. p. 297. Josselyn, in his *Voyages*, p. 46, says that tables of slate could be got out (he does not tell us where), "long enough for a dozen men to sit at." Argillaceous slate is, according to Dr. Hitchcock, "the predominating rock on the outermost of these islands;" and he adds, that "there can be but little doubt that the peninsula of Boston has a foundation" of this rock. — *Report on Geol. of Mass.*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. John Winthrope, jun., is granted y<sup>e</sup> hill at Tantousq, about 60 miles westward, in which the black-leade is; and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians" (13th November, 1644). — *Mass. Col. Rec.*, vol. ii. p. 82; and *Savage, in Winthrop, N. E.*, vol. ii. p. 213, note. The place mentioned is what is now Sturbridge; which is called "the most important locality" of black-lead in Massachusetts, by Dr. Hitchcock. — *Geol.*, pp. 47, 395.

<sup>3</sup> "The mountains and rocky hills are richly furnished with mines of lead, silver, copper, tin, and divers sorts of minerals, branching out even to their summits; where, in small crannies, you may meet with threds of perfect silver: yet have the English no maw to open any of them;" and so forth. — *Josselyn's Voyages*, p. 44.

Tin.

Tin-glass.

Silver.

Iron, in abundance ; and as good bog-iron as any in the world.

Copper. It is reported that the French have a copper mine, at Port Royal, that yieldeth them twelve ounces of pure copper out of a pound of oar.

I shall conclude this section with a strange cure effected upon a drummer's wife, much afflicted with a wolf in her breast. The poor woman lived with her husband at a town called, by the Indians, Casco ; but, by the English, Famouth ; where, for some time, she swaged the pain of her sore by bathing it with strong malt-beer, which it would [94] suck in greedily, as if some living creature. When she could come by no more beer (for it was brought from Boston, along the coasts, by merchants), she made use of rum, — a strong water drawn from sugar-canes, — with which it was lull'd asleep. At last, to be rid of it altogether, she put a quantity of arsnick to the rum ; and, bathing of it as formerly, she utterly destroyed it, and cured herself. But her kind husband, who sucked out the poyson as the sore was healing, lost all his teeth, but without further danger or inconvenience.

## [95] AN ADDITION OF SOME RARITIES OVERSLIPT.

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The star-fish,<sup>4</sup> having fine points like a star; the whole fish no bigger than the palm of a man's hand; of a tough substance like leather, and about an inch in thickness; whitish underneath, and of the colour of a cucumber above, and somewhat ruff. When it is warm in one's hand, you may perceive a stiff motion, turning down one point, and thrusting up another. It is taken to be poysonous. They are very common, and found thrown up on the rocks by the seaside.

Sea-bream, which are plentifully taken upon the seacoasts. Their eyes are accounted rare meat: whereupon the proverbial comparison, "It is worth a sea-bream's eye."<sup>5</sup>

[96] Blew-fish, or horse. I did never see any of them in England. They are big, usually, as the salmon, and better meat by far. It is common in New England, and esteemed the best sort of fish next to rock-cod.

Cat-fish, having a round head, and great, glaring eyes, like a cat. They lye, for the most part, in holes of rocks, and are discovered by their eyes. It is an excelling fish.

Munk-fish, a flat-fish like scate; having a hood like a fryer's cowl.

Clam, or clamp; a kind of shell-fish,—a white muscle.

*An Achariston for Pin and Web.*

Sheath-fish, which are there very plentiful; a delicate fish, as good as a prawn; covered with a thin shell, like the sheath of a knife, and of the colour of a muscle.

Which shell, calcin'd and pulveriz'd, is excellent to take off a pin and web, or [97] any kind of filme growing over the eye.

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<sup>4</sup> *Asterias rubens*, L. — Gould, *Report on Invert.*, p. 345.

<sup>5</sup> See the chapter on Fishes, p. 23, for this and the others here spoken of.



Morse, or sea-horse, having a great head; wide jaws, armed with tushes as white as ivory; of body as big as a cow, proportioned like a hog; of brownish-bay; smooth-skinned, and impenetrable. They are frequent at the Isle of Sables. Their teeth are worth eight groats the pound, the best ivory being sold but for half the money.<sup>6</sup>

*For Poyson.*

It is very good against poyson.

*For the Cramp.*

As also for the cramp; made into rings.

*For the Piles.*

And a secret for the piles, if a wise man have the ordering of it.

The manaty, a fish as big as a wine-pipe; most excellent meat; bred in the rivers of Hispaniola, in the West Indies. It hath teats, and nourisheth its young ones with milk. It is of a green colour, and tasteth like veal.

[98] *For the Stone-collick.*

There is a stone, taken out of the head, that is rare for the stone and collect.

*To provoke Urine.*

Their bones, beat to a powder and drank with convenient liquors, is a gallant urin-provoking medicine.

<sup>6</sup> "Numerous about the Isle of Sables; i.e., the Sandy Isle." — *Voyages*, p. 106. "Mr. Graves" (year 1635) "in the 'James,' and Mr. Hodges in the 'Rebecca,' set sail for the Isle of Sable for sea-horse, which are there in great number," &c. — *Winthrop's N. E., by Savage*, vol. i. p. 162. And I cite one other mention of this pursuit: "Eastward is the Isle of Sables; whither one John Webb, *alias* Evered (an active man), with his company, are gone, with commission from the Bay to get sea-horse teeth and oyle." — *Lechford's Newes from New England* (1642), *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iii. 8d series, p. 100. The Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are the most southern habitat of the animal spoken of by Godman. — *Amer. Nat. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 249.

*For Wound and Bruise.*

An Indian, whose knee was bruised with a fall, and the skin and flesh strip'd down to the middle of the calf of his leg, cured himself with water-lilly roots, boyled and stamped.<sup>7</sup>

*For Swellings of the Foot.*

An Indian webb, her foot being very much swell'd and inflamed, asswaged the swelling, and took away the inflammation, with our garden, or English patience; the roots roasted, — *f. cataplas.* Anno 1670, June 28.

*To dissolve a scirrhus Tumour.*

An Indian dissolv'd a scirrhus tumour in the arm and hip with a fomentation of tobacco; applying afterwards the herb, stamp'd betwixt two stones.

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[99] A DESCRIPTION OF AN INDIAN SQUA.<sup>8</sup>

Now, gentle reader, having trespassed upon your patience a long while in the perusing of these rude observations, I

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<sup>7</sup> Compare Cutler (Account of Indig. Veg., *l. c.*, p. 456) and Wood and Bache (Dispens., p. 1369).

<sup>8</sup> The author has something to the same effect in his *Voyages*, p. 124; but Wood's account of the Indian women (New-England's Prospect, part ii. chap. xx.) is far better worth reading. Both appreciated, in one way or another, their savage neighbors. Wood has a pleasant touch at the last. "These women," he says, "resort often to the English houses, where *pares cum paribus congregare*, — in sex, I mean, — they do somewhat ease their misery by complaining, and seldom part without a relief. If her husband come to seek for his squaw, and begin to bluster, the English woman betakes her to her arms, which are the warlike ladle and the scalding liquors, threatening blistering to the naked runaway, who is soon expelled by such liquid comminations. In a word, to conclude this woman's history, their love to the English hath deserved no small esteem; ever presenting them something that is either rare or desired, — as strawberries, hurtleberries, rasberries, gooseberries, cherries, plumbs, fish, and other such gifts as their poor treasury yields them" (*l. c.*). And, if Lechford's *Newes* from New England (*l. c.*, p. 103) can be trusted, the savages became "much the kinder to their wives by the example of the English."

shall, to make you amends, present you, by way of divertisement or recreation, with a copy of verses, made some time since, upon the picture of a young and handsome Gypsie, not improperly transferred upon the Indian squa, or female Indian, trick'd up in all her bravery.

The men are somewhat horse-fac'd, and generally faucious, — i.e., without beards: but the women, many of them, [100] have very good features; seldome without a come-to-me, or *cos amoris*, in their countenance; all of them black-eyed; having even, short teeth, and very white; their hair black, thick, and long; broad-breasted; handsome, streight bodies, and slender, considering their constant loose habit; their limbs cleanly, straight, and of a convenient stature, — generally as plump as partridges; and, saving here and there one, of a modest deportment.

Their garments are a pair of sleeves, of deer or moose skin drest, and drawn with lines of several colours into Asiatick works, with buskins of the same; a short mantle of trading-cloath, either blew or red, fastened with a knot under the chin, and girt about the middle with a zone, wrought with white and blew beads into pretty works. Of these beads they have bracelets for their neck and arms, and links to hang in their ears; and a fair table, curiously made up with beads likewise, to wear before their breast. Their hair they combe backward, and tye it up short with a border, about two hand-fulls broad, [101] wrought in works, as the other, with their beads. But enough of this.

## THE POEM.

Whether white or black be best,  
Call your senses to the quest;  
And your touch shall quickly tell,  
The black in softness doth excel,  
And in smoothness: but the ear —  
What! can that a colour hear?  
No; but 'tis your black one's wit  
That doth catch and captive it.  
And, if slut and fair be one,  
Sweet and fair there can be none;  
Nor can ought so please the tast  
As what's brown and lovely drest.  
And who'll say that that is best  
To please one sense, displease the rest?  
[102] Maugre, then, all that can be sed  
In flattery of white and red:  
Those flatterers themselves must say  
That darkness was before the day;  
And such perfection here appears,  
It neither wind nor sunshine fears.

## [103] A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF THE

*Most remarkable Passages in that Part of America known to us by the Name of New England.*<sup>9</sup>

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*Anno Dom.*

1492. Christ. Columbus discovered America.

1516. The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, Vice-Admiral of England, and Sir Sebastian Cabota, to Brazile, &c.

1527. Newfoundland discovered by the English.

1577. Sir Francis Drake began his voyage about the world.

[104] 1585. Nova Albion discovered by Sir Francis Drake, and by him so named.

1585, April 9. Sir Richard Greeneville was sent by Sir Walter Rawleigh with a fleet of seven sail to Virginia, and was stiled the General of Virginia.

1586. Capt. Thomas Candish, a Suffolk gentleman, began his voyage round about the world, with three ships, past the Streights of Magellan; burn'd and ransack'd in the entry of Chile, Peru, and New Spain, near the great island California, in the South Sea; and returned to Plymouth with a precious booty, *Anno Dom.* 1588, September the 8th; being the third since Magellan that circuited the earth.

1588. Sir Walter Rawleigh first discovered Virginia, by him so named in honour of our Virgin Queen.

1595. Sir Walter Rawleigh discovered Guiana.

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<sup>9</sup> In the author's Voyages, this chronological table is greatly extended; beginning with "*Anno Mundi*, 3720," and ending with A.D. 1674.

[105] 1606. A collony sent to Virginia.

1614. Bermudas planted.

1618. The blazing star. Then Plymouth Plantation began in New England.<sup>1</sup>

1628. The Massachusetts Colony planted, and Salem the first town therein built.<sup>2</sup>

1629. The first church gathered in this Colony was at Salem; from which year to this present year is 43 years.

In the compass of these years, in this Colony, there hath been gathered fourty churches and 120 towns built in all the Colonies of New England.

The church of Christ at Plymouth was planted in New England eight years before others.

1630. The Governour and assistants [106] arrived, with their pattent for the Massachusetts.

1630. The Lady Arabella in New England.

<sup>1</sup> Set right by the author in *Voyages*, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> The author, in the "chronological observations" appended to his *Voyages*, enlarges this, but confounds Conant's Plantation at Cape Ann, and Endicott's, as follows: "1628. Mr. John Endicot arrived in New England with some number of people, and set down first by Cape Ann, at a place called afterwards Gloster; but their abiding-place was at Salem, where they built the first town in the Massachusetts Patent. . . . 1629. Three ships arrived at Salem, bringing a great number of passengers from England. . . . Mr. Endicot chosen Governour." The next year, Josselyn continues as follows: "1630. The 10th of July, John Winthrop, Esq., and the Assistants, arrived in New England with the patent for the Massachusetts. . . . John Winthrop, Esq., chosen Governour for the remainder of the year; Mr. Thomas Dudley, Deputy-Governour; Mr. Simon Broadstreet, Secretary." — *Voyages*, p. 252. The title of Governor was used anciently, as it still is elsewhere, in a looser sense than has been usual in New England; and derived all the dignity that it had from the character and considerableness of the government. Conant and Endicott were directors or governors of settlements in the Massachusetts Bay before Winthrop's arrival; but when the Massachusetts Company in London proceeded, on the 20th October, 1629, to carry into effect their resolution to transfer their government to this country, — and chose accordingly Winthrop to be their Governor; Humphrey, their Deputy-Governor; and Endicot and others, Assistants (Young, *Chron. of Mass.*, p. 102), — the record appears sufficient evidence that they had in view something quite different from the fishing plantation which Conant had had charge of at Cape Ann, or the little society ("in all, not much above fifty or sixty persons," says White's Relation in Young, *Chron.*, p. 13; which the editor, from Higginson's narrative, raises to "about a hundred") "of which Master Endecott was sent out Governour" (White, *l. c.*) at Naumkeak.



1630. When the government was established, they planted on Noddle's Island.<sup>3</sup>

1631. Capt. John Smith, Governour of Virginia and Admiral of New England, dyed.

1631. Mr. Mavericke, minister at Dorchester in New England.<sup>4</sup>

1631. John Winthorpe, Esq., chosen the first time Governour. He was eleven times Governour,—some say nineteen times,—eleven years together; the other years by intermission.

1631. John Wilson, pastor of Charles Town.<sup>4</sup>

[107] 1631. Sir R. Saltingstall, at Water Town, came into New England.<sup>4</sup>

1631. Mr. Rog. Harlackinden was a majestrate, and a leader of their military forces.<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Wilson gave 1000*l.* to New England; with which they stored themselves with great guns.<sup>6</sup>

1633. Mr. Thomas Hooker, Mr. Haynes, and Mr. John Cotton, came over together in one ship.

1634. The country was really placed in a posture of war, to be in readiness at all times.

1635. Hugh Peters went over for New England.

1636. Connecticat Colony planted.

[108] 1637. The Pequites' wars, in which were slain five or six hundred Indians.

Ministers that have come from England, chiefly in the ten first years, ninety-four; of which returned, twenty-seven; dyed in the country, thirty-six; yet alive in the country, thirty-one.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Noddle's Island was already planted on (by Mr. Maverick) when the government was established.—Compare Johnson, cited by Prince, N. E. Chronol., edit. 2, p. 308, note.

<sup>4</sup> The date set right in Prince, N. E. Chronol., p. 367.

<sup>5</sup> The date corrected in Prince, N. E. Chronol., edit. 2, p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Prince, p. 367, and Mass. Col. Rec., vol. i. p. 128. "The will," says Dr. Mather, "because it bequeathed a thousand pounds to New England, gave satisfaction unto our Mr. Wilson; though it was otherwise injurious to himself."—*Magnalia*, vol. iii. p. 45, *cit.* Davis, in *Morton's Memorial*, p. 334, note.

The number of ships that transported passengers to New England in these times was 298; supposed. Men, women, and children, as near as can be gessed, 21,200.

1637. The first synod at Cambridge in New England, where the Antinomian and Familistical errors were confuted. Eighty errors now amongst the Massachusets.

1638. New-Haven Colony began.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her erronious companions banished the Massachusets Colony.

[109] A terrible earthquake throughout the country.<sup>7</sup>

Mr. John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College (at Cambridge in New England), deceased, gave 700*l.* to the erecting of it.

1639. First printing at Cambridge in New England.

1639. A very sharp winter in New England.

1642. Harvard College founded with a publick library.

Ministers bred in New England and (excepting about 10) in Harvard College, 132: of which, dyed in the country, 10; now living, 81; removed to England, 41.

1643. The first combination of the four united Colonies; viz., Plymouth, Massachusets, Connecticut, and New Haven.

[110] 1646. The second synod at Cambridge, touching the duty and power of majestates in matters of religion; secondly, the nature and power of synods.

Mr. Eliot first preached to the Indians in their native language.

1647. Mr. Thomas Hooker died.

1648. The third synod at Cambridge publishing the Platform of Discipline.

1649. Mr. John Winthorpe, Governour, now died.

This year a strange multitude of caterpillers in New England.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Compare Winthrop, N.E., vol. i. p. 265; Johnson's Wonder-working Prov., lib. ii. c. 12, *cit.* Savage; and Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 209, and note, p. 289.

<sup>8</sup> Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 244.

Thrice seven years after the planting of the English in New England, the Indians of Massachusetts, being 30,000 able men, were brought to 300.

1651. Hugh Peters and Mr. Wells came for England.

[111] 1652. Mr. John Cotton dyed.

1653. The great fire in Boston in New England.

Mr. Thomas Dudley, Governour of the Massachusetts, dyed this year.

1654. Major Gibbons died in New England.

1655. Jamaica taken by the English.

1657. The Quakers arrived in New England, at Plymouth.

1659. Mr. Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College, now dyed.

1661. Major Atherton dyed in New England.

1663. Mr. John Norton, pastor of Boston in New England, dyed suddenly.

[112] Mr. Samuel Stone, teacher of Hartford Church, dyed this year.

1664. The whole Bible, printed in the Indian language, finished.

The Manadaes, called New Amsterdam (now called New York), surrendered up to his Majestie's Commissioners for the settling of the respective Colonies in New England (viz., Sir Robert Carr, Collonel Nicols, Collonel Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Mavericke) in September,—after thirteen dayes, the fort of Arania, now Albania; twelve dayes after that, the fort Awsapha; then De la Ware Castle, man'd with Dutch and Swedes; the three first forts and towns being built upon the great river Mohegan, otherwise called Hudson's River.

In September appeared a great comet for the space of three months.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> 1664, "December, a great and dreadful comet, or blazing star, appeared in the south-east in New England for the space of three moneths; which was accompanied with many sad effects,—great mildews blasting in the countrey the next summer." — *Josselyn's Voyages, Chronol. Obs.*, p. 273; and see p. 245 of the same for a fuller account. — Compare Morton's Memorial, by Davis, p. 304. As to the blasting and mildew of 1665, see the same, p. 317; and that of 1664, p. 309.

1665. Mr. John Indicot, Governour of the Massachusets, dyed.

[113] A thousand foot sent this year, by the French king, to Canada.

Capt. Davenport killed with lightning at the Castle by Boston in New England, and several wounded.

1666. The small-pox at Boston; seven slain by lightning, and divers burnt. This year, also, New England had cast away and taken 31 vessels, and some in 1667.

1667. Mr. John Wilson, pastor of Boston, dyed, aged 79 years.

1670. At a place called Kenibunck, which is in the Province of Meyne (a Colony belonging to the heir of that honourable knight, Sir Ferdinando Gorges), not far from the river-side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapour (as we supposed), over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the river, into the river, stopping the course thereof, and leaving a hole two yards square, wherein were thousands of [114] clay bullets as big as musquet-bullets, and pieces of clay in shape like the barrel of a musquet.<sup>1</sup>

1671. Elder Penn dyed at Boston.

1672. Mr. Richard Bellingham, Governour of the Massachusets in New England.<sup>2</sup>

#### FINIS.

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<sup>1</sup> See Josselyn's *Voyages*, p. 204 and p. 277, where the "hole" is said to have been, not "two," but "forty, yards square:" and we are farther told that "the like accident fell out at Casco, one and twenty miles from it to the eastward, much about the same time; and fish, in some ponds in the countrey, thrown up dead upon the banks, — supposed likewise to be kill'd with mineral vapours." Hubbard (*Hist. N.E.*, chap. 75) tells this, partly in the same words with the account in the *Voyages*, and adds, "All the whole town of Wells are witnesses of the truth of this relation; and many others have seen sundry of these clay pellets, which the inhabitants have shown to their neighbours of other towns." And compare also the following, at p. 189 of the *Voyages*: "In 1669, the pond that lyeth between Watertown and Cambridge cast its fish dead upon the shore; forc't by a mineral vapour, as was conjectured."

<sup>2</sup> It is proper to add here, that a few other errors of the press, beside those of which a list has already been given, have been found during the printing, and corrected.

# NARRATIVE

OF A

## VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN IN THE YEAR 1613,

AT THE CHARGE OF

THE FELLOWSHIP OF ENGLISH MERCHANTS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF NEW  
TRADES; COMMONLY CALLED THE MUSCOVY COMPANY:

WITH A

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE OPERATIONS OF THE  
WHALE-FISHERY.

*Now first Printed from the Original Manuscript.*

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With an Introduction and Notes,

BY SAMUEL F. HAVEN, A.M.,

MEMBER OF AM. ANTIQ. SOC.; MASS. HIST. SOC.; ETC.





# VOYAGE TO SPITZBERGEN.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE voyage to Spitzbergen, of which the account here published is now for the first time printed, is one of the series embraced in the collection of Purchas. It belongs to a class of voyages associated with so many important historical facts and events, that it is not easy to determine the limits of explanation and illustration to which a prefatory chapter should be confined.

We have recently been passing through an epoch of enthusiasm and effort for polar exploration, whose progress has been prolific of dramatic, and even poetical incidents, that have arrested the attention and enlisted the sympathies of all civilized communities.

The tragical fate of Franklin and his associates, so long shrouded in mystery; the costly and repeated expeditions sent out from two nations for their rescue; the moving adventures of the chivalrous Kane, vivified by the graphic skill of his pen; the heroic and persevering exertions of Lady Franklin to penetrate the obscurity of her husband's doom, crowned at last with

melancholy success, — all these circumstances have imparted to the arctic expeditions of our own time a romantic interest, which they may be thought to possess in a higher degree than similar enterprises of an earlier period. Yet the history of voyages for Northern discovery has been marked from the beginning by a like courageous spirit, inspired by an equal zeal; and has been varied by not less striking experiences of disaster and success, of suffering and escape, of endurance and death.

In smaller and clumsier vessels, with less of nautical science, and far fewer appliances for comfort and security, the same seas were explored, in nearly the same places and almost to the same extent, more than two centuries ago. And far within those frozen regions, among the floating mountains of ice and amid the more dangerous forms of *drift* and *pack*, were found two centuries ago, as they are found now, the hardy whalers, pursuing their prey to the utmost limits of practicable navigation; sometimes following the course of discovery, and sometimes leading the way; asking no admiration for their courage, no sympathy for their sufferings, and no recompense of renown for the perils they encountered and the obstacles they overcame.

The progress of ocean fishery is inseparably connected with that of polar navigation, not merely as its principal practical result, but as a main source of its early encouragement and support. It is to private mercantile enterprise that our knowledge of that portion of the globe is chiefly due, either as stimulating the

action of governments, or, oftener, as assuming itself the charges and responsibilities of the adventure. Originating with an effort to discover a shorter and safer means of access to the tempting riches of Cathay, and upheld by hopes of finding beyond the barriers of land-locked ice an open sea and genial sky, — never admitted to be wholly illusory by the most experienced seamen, — these undertakings were often sustained by the profits derived from the oil, the ivory, and the whalebone procured upon the coasts of Spitzbergen and Greenland, in the highest latitudes of accessible land.<sup>1</sup>

Although then, or until then, inferior to Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland, in commercial activity, the English nation was the pioneer of arctic discovery, and the first to establish the whale fishery in the extreme North. It was on account of this inferiority, and because other nations already occupied the commanding points in the routes of trade with the Indies, — thereby exposing British vessels to capture or material obstruction in their traffic, — that a new method of approach to the eastern shores of Asia was so eagerly sought. The breadth of the continents was under-estimated; and it was believed, that, however difficult and dangerous the Northern passage might be, its difficulties and dangers

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<sup>1</sup> If the numerous cases collected by Hon. Daines Barrington from masters of whale-ships, and read before the Royal Society in 1774-5, are to be credited, the whalers have gone nearer to the pole in the pursuit of their regular business than the best appointed expeditions have succeeded in doing.

In the voyage here printed, the latitude of 79° is mentioned as that in which most of the whales were taken. Barrington says, that, in 1774, the "fishing latitude," so called, at Spitzbergen, was 80°. — *Barrington's Miscellanies*, pp. 31, 50.

would be less formidable than those which were incident to the long and tedious voyages round either of the Southern capes, especially during periods of war.

The principal object of pursuit, it is true, was not attained ; but England was rewarded by the acquisition of a valuable intercourse with Russia, by the way of Archangel ; by a productive whale fishery at Spitzbergen ; by the discovery of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays ; and especially by the development of that commercial energy which never faltered till it became dominant throughout the globe.

London was the central source of these operations ; and her municipal officers, composed of her leading and most successful men of business, were the organizers and supporters of the many bold and far-reaching schemes of traffic and colonization by which the period was distinguished. The monarchs of trade in ancient Venice and Genoa never conceived more extensive designs, or conducted them more royally, than did the mayors, sheriffs, and aldermen of London their combined expeditions of commerce and discovery. The names of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir Francis Cherie, Alderman Wyche, Alderman Jones, and others of the same class and position, the merchant-princes of this heroic age of maritime adventure, were bestowed with almost indiscriminate profusion, and somewhat perplexing repetition, upon the numerous localities discovered under their auspices, often at their individual charge ; and with them the names of Hakluyt and Purchas, the

contemporary chroniclers of their exploits, were worthily associated.<sup>2</sup>

Hakluyt and Purchas are the patriarchs of British commercial history. In his dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, of honorable memory to our countrymen as a leading promoter of the first attempts to colonize Virginia, Hakluyt states as the cause of his undertaking, that having, while a youth, had his interest excited in geography and cosmography by a cousin of the same name, he afterwards went abroad, and there "both heard in speech and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea; but the English, of all others, for their sluggish security and continual neglect of the like attempts, either ignominiously reported or exceedingly condemned." — "It was for stopping the mouths of the reproachers" that he resolved to "undertake the burden" of compiling an account of what the English people had accomplished.

His first work (now rarely met with) was published in 1582, and he continued to collect and print until

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<sup>2</sup> With a multitude of *Hopes, God's Mercy's, Comforts, Deliverances, and Disappointments*, by which many of the capes, islands, and inlets of the arctic seas were originally designated, most of these appellations have been supplanted by the fancies or claims of later visitors or rival navigators. Smith's Sound, Wolstenholme's Sound, Cape Dudley Digges, Hakluyt's Island, and a few more of the early names, are still retained on the maps of the western coast of Greenland; Hakluyt's Headland may yet be found at the north-western point of Spitzbergen; and Wyche's Land (sometimes written Witches Land), another part of the same country, is occasionally referred to: but Sir Thomas Smith's Bay, Sir Thomas Smith's Inlet, Sir Thomas Smith's Island, Point Purchas, and Purchas's Plus Ultra, have disappeared from most of the charts of that island; while from Hudson's Bay have been removed Smith's Foreland, Cape Wolstenholme, Digge's Island, &c., &c., for the reason, perhaps, that their places were wanted for a new series of patrons; or, it may be, because these names were thought to monopolize too many localities. These examples are given, not as by any means exhausting the catalogue, but simply as illustrating the fact.



1611. He died in 1616. His manuscript remains fell into the hands of Purchas, who had already published, in 1613, a summary of general information, nautical, geographical, and historical, with the title "Purchas his Pilgrimage;" and now commenced his ponderous work, called "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes," made up of his predecessor's materials, printed and unprinted, of documents derived from navigators themselves, combined with translations of narratives written in foreign tongues, and embracing the whole field of commercial and maritime history.<sup>3</sup> Purchas died in 1628. The narratives of Hakluyt do not reach to the active period of polar fisheries. Those of Purchas extend to the time when, so far as England was concerned, the interest in them began to decline.

It is wonderful how much these diligent collectors contrived to gather, not only from ancient and obscure chronicles, but more especially from the oral statements and private papers of seamen and their employers, with whom they had personal intercourse. It might be expected that accounts so procured, would, many of them, be crude in form, and often incorrect in details of fact; and that such a mass of materials would fail to be satisfactorily digested and systematized; while the prolixity of style and numerous affectations, common

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<sup>3</sup> "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes; containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travels, by Englishmen and others: wherein God's Wonders in Nature and Providence, the Acts, Arts, Varieties, and Vanities of Man, with a World of the World's Rarities, are, by a World of Eye-witnesse Authors, related to the World. Some left written by Mr. Hakluit at his death; more since added; his also perused and perfected: all examined, abbreviated, illustrated with Notes, enlarged with Discourses, adorned with Pictures, and expressed in Maps. In Four Parts, each containing Five Books. By Samuel Purchas, D.D."



to the age in which they wrote, were by no means favorable to perspicuity.

It is not surprising that the logical tastes and severe mental habits of John Locke should have caused him to be greatly disturbed by these qualities of matter and manner.<sup>4</sup> The "Magnalia" of our Cotton Mather is a fair example of this kind of literary production, with its parade of complimentary prefaces in prose and verse, and its clumsy attempts to maintain an air of sprightliness in the treatment of serious subjects. The effort to carry a cumbrous burden of learning with a light and lively step is of itself sufficiently unnatural and absurd. In Mather's case, it had unhappily the additional awkwardness of being out of season, like a discarded fashion, which will sometimes linger in secluded districts long after it has been supplanted in its original seat.

There were, however, sufficient causes of obscurity inherent in the means of information on which Hakluyt and Purchas often relied, without reference to their mode of using them. The ancient records were vague and imperfect, and contemporary reports were apt to be both inexact and exaggerated; longitudes were seldom noted or known; errors of latitude often arose from ignorance of the effect on the sun's apparent position, produced by refraction in the Northern atmosphere; even courses and distances were not stated with much

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<sup>4</sup> "Purchas, like Hakluyt, has thrown in all that came to hand to fill up so many volumes, and is excessively full of his own notions, and of mean quibbling and playing upon words; yet, for such as can make choice of the best, the collection is very valuable." — *Introductory Discourse, to Churchill's Collection of Voyages, by John Locke.*

precision ; and, in the struggle with other nations for precedence of discovery and possession, claims were advanced that were either without foundation, or but feebly supported by evidence. Purchas was in the habit of treating the documents that came into his possession with great freedom ; omitting what he chose to consider unimportant, and introducing changes and additions, without always enabling his readers to distinguish curtailed or altered or intercalated passages from the proper text of his authorities.

As an example of *indistinctness*, may be mentioned his account of the important voyage of Bylot and Baffin in 1616, when Baffin's Bay was first explored, and when most of the prominent names still attached to its capes, harbors, and inlets, were bestowed upon them. The record is ostensibly Baffin's, who had a high reputation for scientific attainments and general accuracy of observation ; but it is obscured by the mutilations and other changes to which it was subjected.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "This voyage, which ought to have been, and indeed may still be, considered as the most interesting and important either before or since, is the most vague, indefinite, and unsatisfactory of all others ; and the account of it most unlike the writing of William Baffin." — "So vague and indefinite, indeed, is every information left which could be useful, that each succeeding geographer has drawn Baffin's Bay on his chart as best accorded with his fancy." — *Barrow's Chron. Hist.*, pp. 215, 216.

It is probable, however, that the fault in this case rests chiefly, if not entirely, with Purchas, who strangely omitted Baffin's chart and explanatory notes, on the plea that "this map of the authour for this and the former voyage, with the tables of his journall and saying, were somewhat troublesome and too costly to insert."

Baffin was, doubtless, the most scientific navigator of his time. In his voyage to Greenland in 1612, he laid down a method of determining the longitude at sea, which is said to be the first on record (*Barrow*, p. 201) ; and he was one of the first to observe and calculate the influence on the sun's apparent altitude of the remarkable refractive power of an arctic atmosphere. It is in his account of our voyage to Spitzbergen that he notices this subject particularly. Barents and his crew, who wintered at Nova Zembla in 1596, are reported to have seen the sun above the horizon fourteen days

The most striking instance of an unwarrantable claim is perhaps that of the discovery of Spitzbergen by Sir Hugh Willoughby, which a very slight examination of Willoughby's own journal would seem sufficient to refute.<sup>6</sup> But the presumption of prior discovery, added to the fact of prior occupancy, was required to sustain the English pretense of an exclusive right to the fisheries on those shores, very fairly, and with ultimate success, disputed by the Dutch.

In this connection, the value of the labors of the Hakluyt Society should be duly recognized. The character and purpose of that association are indicated by the name it bears. Among its publications are two important volumes, — one of them entitled “Narratives of Voyages towards the North-west in Search of a Passage to Cathay;”<sup>7</sup> the other, a revised publication of De Veer's “True Description of Three (Dutch) Voyages by the North-east towards Cathay,” &c.;<sup>8</sup> in which the correction of past errors by means of present light, and the establishment of truths before uncertain, are happily combined.

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before it should have been visible according to the rules of science then known; and were astonished at the seeming miracle. The oblate form of the earth at the poles had not then been demonstrated, affording another element of error in nautical estimates. Baffin was killed in the East Indies in 1622, at the siege of Ormuz, by a shot, “as he was trying his mathematical projects and conclusions” (*Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 848). Purchas calls him “that learned-unlearned mariner and mathematician, who, wanting art of words, so really employed himself to those industries whereof here you see so eminent fruits” (*ibid.*: p. 847).

Sir John Ross bears repeated testimony to the general accuracy of Baffin in noting positions and distances. — *Voyage of the Isabella and Alexander*, 1818.

<sup>6</sup> See analysis of Willoughby's track, by Thomas Rundall. Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1849.

<sup>7</sup> Hakluyt Society's Publications, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1853.

After all that the industry of Hakluyt and Purchas collected from their contemporaries, there must be many maritime records of their period which they did not find, or were unable to use, that are worthy of preservation in print, and of translation if in foreign tongues. It is to be hoped that the issues of the Hakluyt Society will long continue to be enriched from such sources.

From Hakluyt and Purchas later writers have chiefly derived the earlier portions of their compilations; in many instances adopting their errors with their facts. In regard to the Northern regions of both hemispheres, no small amount of misconception has attended nearly every effort to elucidate the history of their discovery. Rheinhold Forster<sup>9</sup> is often criticized and condemned by Sir John Barrow, and not by him alone; and Barrow<sup>1</sup> (the accurate Barrow, as he has been termed) is seriously taken to task by the author of "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot."<sup>2</sup> In all the summaries of polar expeditions, that, in one form and another, have been introduced into modern narratives, there is a want of satisfactory fulness or clearness. A careful study of each particular voyage, with a candid comparison of all that have been accomplished, or that are claimed as having been accomplished, by different nations, is still a desideratum in this field of research.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> History of Voyages and Discoveries in the North, translated from the German. London, 1786.

<sup>1</sup> A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions. London, 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Biddle.

<sup>3</sup> The geographical history of the Western continent very much needs such an analytical exposition; and it is to be regretted that a work on the subject, prepared

There happens to be, among the manuscripts in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, an original journal of that voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613, which immediately followed a grant to the Muscovy Company of additional powers from the crown. The attempt was made to assert a supremacy over the Northern seas by means of an armed fleet of merchantmen sent to enforce the submission of ships of other nations then beginning to frequent the coasts of Spitzbergen. With this object was combined that of additional discoveries; which, with few exceptions, formed a part of the plan of every commercial expedition in that quarter. The crisis was one of some moment, and was productive of important results affecting the general interests of commerce. The whale-fishery, as a regular business, had recently commenced. This was the third venture of the company in that employment; and the Spanish, French, and Dutch were eagerly following on their steps, and enticing away the English pilots and sailors to their own service. The Hollanders had a claim of right, in virtue of the discovery of Spitzbergen by their countryman Barents in 1596. They were also fortified by the publication, the preceding year, of the "*Mare Liberum*" of Grotius, written for their special benefit. Immediately following this voyage, there appeared from the press at Amsterdam an account of the discovery of the island, its situation and products, with a protest against the pretensions of the English, and their obstructions to the use of the fisheries



by other nations.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch vessels were afterwards protected by ships of war.

It was in this voyage that the arms of the King of England were first set up on the island; which was named, in his honor, "King James his New Land."<sup>5</sup>

The account of the expedition in the "Pilgrimes" of Purchas is attributed to Baffin, who perhaps accompanied the expedition in a scientific capacity, as he does not appear to have held a command.

There are reasons, which will be adduced in another place, for believing that the journal now first printed was from the pen of Robert Fotherby, whose name, both as an author and as a skilful navigator, is connected with two succeeding voyages. From the manner in which his papers are referred to and used by Purchas, as well as from his ceasing to be mentioned, it is probable that he died soon after, while yet a young man.

Although the voyage itself has no direct connection with American history, it is intimately associated with facts that are proper subjects of interest and investigation for American archæologists. It was part of the great commercial operations that embraced the exploration and settlement of our own shores. It was conducted under the same auspices and with the same objects that controlled the fisheries in our seas, and

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<sup>4</sup> "Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberghe, comme il a este desouvert, sa situation, et de ses Animaux. Avec le Discours des Empechemens que les Navires esquippez pour la Pêche des Baleines tant Basques, Hollandois, que Flamens, ont souffert de la part des Anglois, en l'Anée presente 1613. Escript par H. G. A. Et un Protestation contre les Anglois, et Annulation de tous leurs Frivolz Argumens, par lequels ils pensent avoir droit de se fair seuls Maistres du dit Pays. A Amsterdam, chez Hessel Gerard A. a l'enseigne de la Carte Nautiq. MDCCXIII."

<sup>5</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. iii. p. 343.



established the earliest English colonies on our soil. In point of time, it is midway between the first permanent settlement in Virginia and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; and, in the influences attached to it, has definite relations to both.

A list of the members of the Muscovy Company is not within reach, if still extant; but the men who managed its concerns, and sent out this and other expeditions to Spitzbergen, were, some of them at least, among the assignees of Raleigh, and followed up successfully his plans of colonization. Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the Muscovy Company, was the Treasurer and *de facto* Governor of the Virginia Company. Sir Dudley Digges (his kinsman) and Sir John Wolstenholme were likewise patentees, and named of the Council by the king in 1609. Sir Dudley Digges was also one of the New-England Company.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Smith stands first in the list of Raleigh's assignees. The next, William Sanderson, was a veteran merchant of the same class, whose name was given to the most northerly point on the Greenland coast attained by Davis in 1587. Smith was the leading manager of the Virginia Company, but became unpopular on account of a body of laws sent over by him, that were considered objectionable for their severity. He surrendered his office in 1619, "being far advanced in years and of tender health;" having, "in the time of greatest trouble and difficulty, continued above twelve years in the principal office of the company" (*Stith's Virginia*, book iii. pp. 158-9). "During all which time, (he) was Treasurer and Governor of the Company, with the expense of seventy thousand pounds, or thereabouts, brought in for the most part by voluntary adventurers; being, a great many of them, Sir Thomas's near friends and relations, and, for his sake, joining in the business" (*ibid.*, book v. p. 301, from Alderman Johnson's "Declaration of the Prosperous Estate of the Colony during Sir Thomas Smith's Time of Government").

Sir Thomas Smith was second son of Thomas Smith, Esq., in the county of Kent. He was a Farmer of the Customs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and was so much in favor with King James, that he sent him ambassador to the Emperor of Russia in 1604. He was prominent in almost every important maritime enterprise of his time. He built a costly house at Deptford, near London; which was destroyed by fire in 1619. His eldest son married a daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick. He was buried under a stately monument in Hone Church, Kent. The inscription is a summary of his history: "To the glory of God, and to the pious memorie of the honorable Sir

It is impossible to withhold one's admiration from these merchant-knights, who so nobly distinguished themselves in the peaceful errantry of commerce at a period when distances were comparatively formidable; compassing the globe with their ships; striving, with courage unshaken by defeat, to force a passage, through the domains of perpetual frost and semi-perpetual night, into the fruitful and sunny regions of the East; and turning aside, as if for relaxation, from bolder adventures, to uphold infant colonies in some remote wilderness.

Thomas Smith, Kt. (late governour of the East Indian, Muscovia, French, and Sommer Island companies; treasurer for the Virginia plantation; prime undertaker (in the year 1612) for that noble designe, the discoverie of the North-West passage; principall commissioner for the London expedition against the pirates, and for a voiage to the ryver Senega, upon the coast of Africa; one of the chief commissioners for the navieroial, and sometime ambassador from the majestie of Great Britain to the emperour and great duke of Russia and Muscovia, &c.), who, havinge judiciously, conscionably, and with admirable facility, managed many difficult and weighty affairs to the honor and profit of this nation, rested from his labors the 4th day of Septem., 1625" (*Athenæ Oconienses*, vol. ii. col. 54). Some verses descriptive of the multitude and diversity of his enterprises are added to the above. Purchas, acknowledging his obligations to him, with high-flown allusions to Neptune and Xerxes, adds in a note, that the courts, consultations, &c., for the East Indies, Virginia, Summer Islands, North and North-west discoveries, Muscovia, &c., are kept at his house (*Pilgrimage*, ed. of 1614, p. 744).

The widow, and third wife, of Sir Thomas married Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, brother of the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney. — *Hasted's Kent*, vol. i. pp. 238, 412.

In the Bodleian Catalogue, a book entitled "Sir Thomas Smith's Voyage and Entertainment in Russia" is attributed to him; and he is erroneously said to be the son of Sir Thomas Smith, who was Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and a distinguished scholar and writer. Wood, in the "*Athenæ*," mentions the book, but says it was published without his knowledge or consent. The Sir Thomas Smiths, of whom there were *three* distinguished about the same time, are often confounded.

Sir Dudley Digges was also of a Kent family, and one remarkable during several generations for intellectual gifts and attainments. His grandfather was an able mathematician and writer; his father was also a distinguished mathematician and author; his brother Leonard was a poet, orator, and linguist. Sir Dudley himself was an accomplished scholar, traveller, statesman, and author, a patriotic member of Parliament, and a princely merchant. He was one of the most active in bringing the Duke of Buckingham to account (for which he was committed to the Tower), and

But, while the lives of individual men are of limited duration, the planting of new states is a slow and protracted process, of which the germ and the fruit are seldom found in the same generation. The municipal officers of London who began the work, who enlisted the participation of noblemen and courtiers, who created the spirit of enterprise, and set the example of broad and liberal designs, bequeathed to successors in similar mercantile positions their habits of adventure and the fulfilment of their lordly schemes. The men of rank who aspired to be proprietors of domains that

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among the foremost in maintaining the liberties of the subject against the usurpations of the throne. He succeeded Sir Julius Cæsar as Master of the Rolls in 1636; and died March 18, 1638. He purchased the Manor and Castle of Chilham in Kent; where, about the year 1616, he erected a magnificent edifice for his residence. It is said of him, that "his understanding few *could* equal; his virtues, fewer *would*:" and that "the wisest men reckoned his death among the public calamities of those times" (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. cols. 634 and 635; *Hasted's Kent*, vol. iii. p. 130; *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.*, &c.). Some of his speeches are preserved by Rushworth. His son Dudley was also distinguished as a general scholar and writer. Sir Dudley left eight sons and three daughters. Col. Edward Digges, chosen Governor of Virginia in 1655, "having given signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia and to the Commonwealth of England" (*Henning*, vol. i. p. 388), was probably his son. In the churchyard at Woodford, England, is the tomb of "Edward Digges, Esq., son of Hon. Dudley Digges of Virginia, 1711" (*Lyson's Env. of Lond.*, vol. iii. p. 278).

Sir John Wolstenholme, as well as Sir Thomas Smith, held the important and lucrative office of Farmer of the Customs, and was made a knight by Charles I. He purchased Nostell Abbey in Yorkshire; and, at his death, left a great estate. The parish-church of Stanmore Magna, near London, was erected at his sole expense; and his monument, which presents his effigies at full length, was placed within it. He died Nov. 25, 1639, at the age of seventy-seven. In his epitaph, his office of Farmer of the Customs is referred to: "Quam splendidissimam teloniam, summa fide, cura, et innocentia, exercuit." His son, Sir John, who was made a baronet by Charles II., and appointed to his father's place in the Customs, lost a large part of his property in the Revolution by adhering to the king. There was a remarkable friendship between him and the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor (*Lyson's Env. of London*, vol. iii. pp. 395, 396; *Kimber's Baronetage*, vol. ii. p. 306). The friendship between this Sir John and Clarendon must have begun early; as we find in the autobiography of Sir John Bramston (Camden Society's publications, 1845) a reference to Edward Hyde as on the way to see his wife, then at Sir John Wolstenholme's, who lived at Nostell Priory, near Ferry Bridge. This was about 1640.

might become kingdoms, and the rulers meantime of colonial dependencies, met with small success in their projects ; but the merchants, with a better knowledge of men and of business, and a wiser selection of means and agencies, secured the attainment of permanent results. The mayors, aldermen, sheriffs, and other leading merchants of London, as members of the great trading corporation, that, from an incidental branch of its operations, received the name of Russia or Muscovy Company, opened the way, which later mayors, aldermen, and sheriffs followed up by contributing their money, the influence of their names, and the benefit of their counsel and direction, to the advancement of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.<sup>7</sup>

It is customary, with writers of our national history, to go far back among English annals to trace the rise of religious dissent, and investigate the forms of doctrinal difference which are supposed to have culminated in Puritanism, and to have induced that kind of emigration, and that condition of affairs at home, which have dominantly affected the fortunes and character of the New-England States. But those elements of influence which belong to the rise and growth of commerce, especially the commerce of the fisheries ; the consequent habit of distant enterprises of trade and colonization, causing familiarity with the seas, and affording

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<sup>7</sup> Among the members of the Massachusetts Company were Thomas Andrews and Thomas Adams, each of whom at some time held the office of mayor, and one or both of them that of sheriff: two at least (Vassall and Bateman) are in the list of aldermen. The Governor (Cradock) was a merchant of London, as were Abraham Palmer, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Owen Rowe, and doubtless others who are less known.

practice in the administration of affairs on an extended scale, — were working as surely and effectively to the same end; and, in the study of causes, are deserving of no less careful consideration.

It is not merely the explorations and discoveries that sprang from the ambitions and rivalries of commerce, nor the plantations to which the supposed riches of the sea and land in the Western Hemisphere were an inducement, that represent the consequences to us of these commercial undertakings. They contributed directly to the moulding of our political institutions, and the determination of our national characteristics.

In the first place, they enriched the middle classes of England, so that the House of Commons thrice overmatched the House of Lords in wealth. In the second place, they gave that experience in the management of men as well as things, involving more or less the principles of political science, which entitled the Long Parliament to be described by Bishop Warburton as comprising “a set of the greatest geniuses for government that the world ever saw embarked together in any one cause.”

The great English Revolution, whatever it became, cannot be attributed to scruples of conscience under religious constraint as its chief cause. It arose rather from a resistance of property, under a sense of personal independence, to the claims of prerogative. Hence it began with a refusal, on the part of the rich merchants, to submit to illegal taxation. It may be no more than a coincidence, that Nathaniel Manstreye, William Spurstowe, Thomas Sharpe, and Thomas Webb, citizens of



London, — who were imprisoned, in 1627, for declining to lend the king money, — and Samuel Vassall, one of the first to resist the payment of tonnage and poundage, are found among the members of the Massachusetts Company: but it corresponds with the fact, that so many other members of the company, and their immediate friends, were among the most active and most effective workers in Parliament and in the army for the overthrow of the monarchy; several of them sitting as judges at the trial of the king. We know that the stirring events which engrossed the attention of the sovereign and his ministers were all that prevented the revocation of the charter of Massachusetts; and we may imagine that the destinies of New England, and of our whole country, were materially affected by the influence of the mercantile classes upon the political affairs of the kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

It is remarked, in one of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, that the proceedings of the Muscovy Company “are highly deserving of being made the subject of special investigation.” An account, not only of its commercial and political relations and its numerous enterprises, but of its leading members, and their personal services in connection with that and other corporations, and on private account (for there is a singular mixture in these transactions), would present many points of interest to an American. Sebastian Cabot,

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<sup>8</sup> In a paper prefixed to a publication of the Records of the Massachusetts Company, by the American Antiquarian Society, in 1850, the writer had occasion to notice the prominent agency of its members in the establishment of the English Commonwealth. The views there expressed have been strengthened by subsequent examinations of the subject.



in his old age, was its founder and first governor; and the discovery of Frobisher's Straits, Davis's Straits, Hudson's Bay and Baffin's Bay, the important voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland, and many minor explorations upon the northern coasts of this continent, are included among the fruits of its organization.<sup>9</sup>

So much reference to maritime events in the Northern regions as will place our voyage to Spitzbergen in its proper historical position may be regarded as pertinent to the objects of this introduction.

Two companies for a long time controlled the trade of England, — the Merchants of the Steelyard and the Merchants of the Staple. The first, sometimes called the *German Company*, was a foreign institution, dependent on the continental league of commercial cities known as the "Hanse Towns;" which, having obtained a footing in London for its factors more than two centuries before, was established by a formal treaty in 1475. The Merchants of the Staple were incorporated as early as 1313; but the Steelyard Company had the advantage of connections abroad, which enabled them to secure a supremacy over the external dealings of the kingdom. Antwerp was the emporium of European commerce: it was the mart where the English merchants sold their native products, and purchased the commodities of other lands.

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<sup>9</sup> While the sanction of the *Company* was required for these expeditions, the expense was generally defrayed by private subscription; a few men — like Smith, Digges, Wolstenholme, Sanderson, Cherie, &c. — assuming the principal charge, and sharing the profits, if any, in the same proportion. Sir Humphrey Gilbert "went out by leave and admittance of the Muscovia Company" (*Edge's Narrative, in Purchas*).

The breaking-up of this condition of things was due, in part, to domestic discontents, occasioned by the subjection of traffic to the domination of foreigners; out of which grew the civil disturbances of May Day, 1517. A company for the transaction of the wool-trade with the Netherlands, incorporated by Henry VII. in 1505, became strong enough, ultimately, to oppose successfully the interference of the Steelyard monopolists; and through their exertions, combined with those of the Merchants of the Staple, the privileges of the Steelyard Company were declared forfeited in 1552. Although renewed in 1554 by Mary, these are supposed to have been again withdrawn, as the company never recovered their power; and the houses they occupied were finally closed, by order of Elizabeth, in 1597.

The second cause of the subversion of the courses of trade was the capture and sack of Antwerp, by the Duke of Parma, in 1585; which gave a shock to the whole system of European commerce, and established the independence of that of England.<sup>1</sup>

Events that seem to belong together from their nature, origin, and design, are sometimes separated by considerable intervals in history. The successful voyage of Columbus caused great attention to be given to the study of the form of the earth; and, when the positions of different countries in point of latitude came to

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<sup>1</sup> The sacking of this city gave the finishing blow to the commerce of the Netherlands. The whole fishing trade removed into Holland; and as for the noble manufactures of Flanders and Brabant, they removed to different parts. Much of the woollen manufacture settled at Leyden; the linen removed to Haerlem and Amsterdam. One-third part of the merchants and workmen who worked and dealt in silks, damasks, and taffeties, and in bayes, says, serges, stockings, &c., settled in England. — *Ander-son's Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 211-12.

be understood, the great saving of distance to be effected by a Northern passage from England to China was at once perceived.<sup>2</sup>

To accomplish that passage was the great ambition of the Cabots. Sailing under the authority of Henry VII., they discovered Newfoundland, and made known the value of its fisheries: but the English did not, for many years, take advantage of this knowledge; while the Catholic countries — Spain, Portugal, and France, where the fasts of the church created a great demand for fish — began almost immediately to send vessels to the Grand Banks.<sup>3</sup>

According to Mr. Sabine, there is no account of *English* fishing at Newfoundland before 1517. It was of little consequence ten years later.<sup>4</sup> It began to be important about 1550. In 1578, there were engaged a hundred ships from Spain, fifty from Portugal, a hundred and fifty from France, to fifteen from England.<sup>5</sup> The two events on which the paramount right of England is usually founded are the discovery by Cabot in

<sup>2</sup> "When newes were brought, that Don Christopher Colonius had discovered the coasts of India, — whereof was great talk in the Court of King Henry the 7; insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane to saile by the West into the East, where spices growe, by a way that was never knownen before, — by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing; and understanding, by reason of the sphere, that, if I should saile by way of the Northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my devise." — *Discourse of Sebastian Cabot: Hakluyt* (from *Ramusio*), vol. iii. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> In 1504. Forster's *Discoveries in the North*, p. 291. Scoresby's *Arctic Regions*; Appendix, p. 56. Report on American Fisheries to the United-States Treasury Department, in 1852, by Hon. Lorenzo Sabine.

<sup>4</sup> Sabine. *Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 809. In treating of national industry, the *Pictorial History of England* (book vi. chap. iv.) states that "the first attempt of the English to obtain a share of this trade was not till 1536."

<sup>5</sup> Parkhurst's Letter, in *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 170. Anderson's *Com.*, vol. ii. p. 192.

1497, and the taking possession by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583.<sup>6</sup> It is estimated, that, about the year 1600, ten thousand men and boys were employed on board and on shore in the business. The first birth from European parents, at Newfoundland, was in 1613.<sup>7</sup>

So dilatory were the English in availing themselves of this great source of wealth, from which the merchants of other nations were realizing magnificent fortunes. Their efforts to discover new routes of trade with the Indies were also slow in progress, and subject to similar intermissions.

Sebastian Cabot, after his voyages under Henry VII., went into the service of Spain. He is said to have returned, and made another voyage in search of the north-west passage about 1517, and even to have entered the bay afterwards discovered by Hudson; but the story is not free from obscurity.<sup>8</sup> In 1527, Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, endeavored to show, by reasoning, the practicability of a passage by the North:<sup>9</sup> and there is a somewhat mythical account of two ships being sent; one of them called the "Dominus vobiscum."<sup>1</sup> In 1536, "one Master Hore, of London, a man of goodly stature and great courage," went as far as Newfoundland;

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<sup>6</sup> Sabine.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Mr. Sabine expresses his conviction, "after long and patient inquiry," that the emigration of the Pilgrims from Leyden to Plymouth was due to the inducements of the fishing trade; a business by which every fifth person in Holland was said to earn his subsistence. His reasoning is even more applicable to the rise of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. — *Sabine's Report*, part iii.

<sup>8</sup> Biddle's Memoir, pp. 102-117.

<sup>9</sup> Letters to Henry VIII. and Dr. Leigh, in Hakluyt, vol. i. pp. 235, 237. Thorne claimed that his father had been concerned in a voyage to Newfoundland with Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst in 1502. If the voyage was made, no record of it remains.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hakluyt, Barrow, and Biddle.

and, after many misfortunes and much suffering, returned with his men in a French ship, which they had seized, and substituted for their own.

About the time of the breaking-up of the Steelyard monopoly Cabot re-appeared in England. It was a period of great depression in trade. In conjunction with "certaine grave citizens of London, and men of greate wisdom, and carefull for the good of their country," he organized an association called "The Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places then unknown." Cabot, now more than eighty years old, was made Grand Pilot of England, and Governor of the Company.

An expedition for the discovery of a passage by the *North-east* was immediately resolved upon. There were traditions and chronicles declaring the existence of open navigation north of Norway and Lapland; particularly the narrative of Ochter, or Othere, a Norwegian navigator, who, about the year 890, delivered to King Alfred "a most just survey and description of the whole coast, even to the mouth of the River Dwina in Russia."<sup>2</sup> Encouraged by this account, and by others perhaps of a later date, great expectations were entertained of an easy transit in that direction. Three vessels were built by the best shipwrights specially for the purpose. Sir Hugh Willoughby — "a most valiant gentleman, and well born" — was selected to be admiral, from many

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<sup>2</sup> Anderson's *Commerce*, vol. i. p. 106. The story was inserted in King Alfred's version of *Orosius*. See Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 5; and Barrington's translation, with a map, in his *Miscellanies*, p. 453.



“sufficient captains and governors” who offered their services, “by reason of his goodly personage, as also for his singular skill in the services of war.” Richard Chancellor, the second in command, was chosen “for many good points of wit in him; in whom alone great hope for the performance of this business rested.”<sup>3</sup>

They sailed May 10, 1553, courtiers and common people being assembled to witness their departure, amid the firing of cannon and the shouts of the multitude. “The good King Edward only, by reason of his sickness, was absent from this shew.”<sup>4</sup>

It was the fate of Willoughby, with seventy men, — the crews of two of his vessels, — to be the proto-martyrs of arctic enterprise. They were found by some Russians, the spring following, frozen stark in their ships on the coast of Lapland. They had with them an imperfect journal of their voyage, which did not include an account of their final experiences or sufferings.

“Such was the Briton’s fate,  
As with *first* prow (what have not Britons dared?)  
He for the passage sought, attempted since  
So much in vain.” — THOMSON.

The lost men were in the “Bona Esperanza” and “Bona Confidentia;” but Chancellor, in the “Bonadventure,” was more fortunate or more skilful. He landed near the present site of Archangel in Russia; and, making good use of his “wit,” was aided by the semi-barbarous natives in pushing his way to Moscow, where the emperor held his court. There he presented

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<sup>3</sup> Clement Adams, in Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.



his credentials, and succeeded in producing a favorable impression. The monarch himself knew little, if any thing, about England ; but an ambassador from the Sofi of Persia had heard of the country, and, perhaps pleased with an opportunity to exhibit his knowledge, spoke in terms of commendation of its people. It is somewhat singular to find an Asiatic from beyond the Tigris vouching for the respectability of the British nation ; but either through his good offices or the address of Chancellor, or both, the Russian emperor manifested much readiness to enter into relations of amity and commerce with that kingdom. Chancellor carried home with him missives from the Czar, Ivan Vasilowich, containing professions of regard, and tendering facilities of trade, that quite overcame the sense of discouragement which the loss of Willoughby would otherwise have occasioned.

Great enthusiasm was produced by the mercantile prospects so unexpectedly opened. The association organized by Cabot received a charter from Philip and Mary, bearing date Feb. 6, 1554-5, and assumed the name of the "Muscovy," or "Russia Company ;" which they continued to retain even after the act of Parliament of 1566, where they are styled "the Fellowship of English Merchants for the Discovery of New Trades," — a corporate title under which they still exist.

Such was the origin of the Muscovy Company, whose ample jurisdiction embraced all undiscovered or unappropriated regions "north-wards, north-eastwards, and north-westwards ;" which none but those licensed by

the company might frequent without a forfeiture of ships and merchandise.<sup>5</sup>

A lucrative traffic with Russia followed these events, not without efforts to pass beyond to the coveted land of spices; efforts which yielded only disappointment, yet did not extinguish hope.<sup>6</sup>

The Dutch — always on the lookout for chances of profit, and, if we may believe Purchas, always following in the steps of the English, wherever a business promised to be gainful — were anxious to obtain a share of the trade with Russia.

Passing by the English voyages of Burrough in 1556, and Pet and Jackman in 1580, — which were productive of no important results bearing on our purpose, — we come to the more celebrated expedition of the Dutch, under the pilotage of William Barents, in 1596. It was the third voyage of that able navigator, whose name is variously written Barents, Bernards, Barentzoon, and Bernardzoon; meaning the son of Barent, or Bernard.

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<sup>5</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> In 1556, the company sent out men to bring home Willoughby's ships and the bodies of the men; and, as a fitting conclusion to the tragedy, the vessels "sunk by the way, with their dead, and them also that brought them." — *Brief Hist. of Moscovia*, ch. 5, in the Prose Works of John Milton.

In the same year, Chancellor, conveying an ambassador from Russia to England in his ship the "Good Fortune" (*Bonadventure*), found it no longer answering to its name. He was wrecked on the coast of Scotland, and lost his life; though the ambassador was saved. — *Letter of Henry Lane to William Sanderson. Hakluyt*, vol. i. p. 523.

It may be worth mentioning, as a curious fact in reference to the recent resistance of our government and others to the exaction of tolls at the entrance of the Baltic, that, for the privilege of passing round the coasts of Norway and Danish Lapland, the Muscovy Company were bound by treaty to pay to the King of Denmark a toll of one hundred rose nobles annually. The reason assigned for this charge was, that the establishment of the new route of trade had materially diminished the customary receipts at Elsinore. The Russians had then, however, no commercial ports on the Baltic; and the war with Sweden had closed the access through that sea.

Taking a course more northerly than those who had preceded him, he came first upon a small island, in latitude  $74^{\circ} 30'$ , to which he gave the name of Bear Island. This, upon English maps, is *Cherie* Island; so called by Stephen Bennet, seven years later, after his patron, Alderman Sir Francis Cherie, a distinguished member of the Muscovy Company. It became a place of great resort for the oil and ivory of the walrus, until the supply was exhausted, or found more abundant elsewhere. Continuing northwards, the Dutch again saw land, in latitude  $79^{\circ} 49'$ ; which was supposed by them to be a part of Greenland, but which is now known by the name of *Spitzbergen*.

Returning to Bear Island, a division of opinion there occurred among the officers of the two vessels, and led to a separation. One of the ships, with Barents as pilot, went to Nova Zembla; where, being caught in the ice on the north-eastern side of the island, the Dutch passed a memorable winter. The incidents and sufferings attending this earliest sojourn by civilized men through the cold and darkness of an arctic night, whose experiences are recorded, if delineated with the graphic power of Kane, would form one of the most interesting narratives in maritime history. As told by De Veer, who was present, it is still, perhaps, entitled to that appellation. When the light and comparative warmth returned, finding it impossible to extricate their ship, they fitted up two boats, and, with great difficulty and danger, succeeded in reaching Kora in Lapland; where, to their great joy, they found their comrades. Barents, however, had perished by the way. Exhausted by ill-

ness and exposure, he died suddenly in the boat, while studying a chart of their course.

De Veer's account of the voyages of Barents has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, with an elaborate introduction and notes.<sup>7</sup> The editor states that the prior discovery of Spitzbergen by the Dutch is now universally admitted; and adds, "But that Spitzbergen was actually *circumnavigated* by them is a fact, which, as far as we are aware, has never been adverted to by any writer on arctic discovery."<sup>8</sup>

It is against the fact that no such claim was advanced by De Veer, — who speaks of the country as "this land which we esteem to be *Greenland*," — and against the silence of writers (Dutch as well as others) on the point, that the editor has to make good his belief of circumnavigation from the narrative itself.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "A True Description of Three Voyages, by the North-east, towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the Years 1594, 1595, and 1596. By Gerrit De Veer. Published at Amsterdam in the Year 1598; and, in 1609, translated into English by William Phillip. Edited by Charles T. Beke, Phil. D., F.S.A. London, 1853."

<sup>8</sup> Introduction, p. lxxxv.

<sup>9</sup> The editor remarks, that Gerard's imperfect account, published in De Bry's Collection, being better known to literary men than De Veer's original journal, "is doubtless the reason why the circumnavigation of Spitzbergen by Barents, &c., has hitherto remained unknown." This explanation is hardly satisfactory. It does not seem possible that De Veer's narrative can have been so little known or consulted. The admitted obscurity of the journal, which even the editor's labors have not made clear to a casual reader, seems a more natural explanation of the omission to observe so important a circumstance.

Without desiring to question the correctness of the British editor's theory, it may be proper to refer to some of the difficulties it has to encounter. It appears to involve the supposition, that Barents — who had determined the position of Bear Island with perfect accuracy — could have sailed round Spitzbergen without being aware of its entire isolation, or that the fact was unknown to his companion De Veer. If the plants and grass growing there, and "the beast that feed on grass," found in as high a latitude as 80°, — while at Nova Zembla, several degrees further south, none of either were seen (from which they inferred that ice and cold were not caused by proximity to the Pole), — had suggested the name of "Greenland," their discovery might very well have been so called, as the same name was often applied to different places. But

It does not appear that any specific name was given to the country by the Dutch at that period; although subsequently they called it *Spitzbergen*, on account of its sharply pointed mountains. To the English it continued to be Greenland, even after its entire separation from Greenland Proper was believed, and when it was also designated as "King James's Newland."<sup>1</sup> It was sometimes termed *East Greenland*; and a distinction was observed by retaining the Danish diphthong in the name of the ancient country, which often degenerated from Groenland, or Groinland, to Groneland.<sup>2</sup>

After the establishment of trade with Russia by the Muscovy Company, the attention of the English was directed towards the *West*, in the hope of a passage north of the American Continent. Frobisher, Gilbert,

De Veer speaks of it only as a "part of Greenland," and as the "eastern part of Greenland;" implying ignorance of its being a distinct body of land. If he knew it to be an island, it is not easy to imagine why he should fail to report it as such. Editions of his narrative were printed in various languages, which are noticed in the publication of the Hakluyt Society. The account that appeared under the name of Gerard, in 1613 (see *ante*, p. 252, n.), — which the editor considers to have concealed, by its imperfections, the fact of circumnavigation, — is professedly taken from Barents's own notes, "écrit de la main propre de Guillaume Bernard." Although the truth of that assertion may be doubted, yet, as the object of the publication was to prove the right of the Dutch to possession of the country, it is remarkable that the incident of circumnavigation should not have been noticed, if it really happened.

<sup>1</sup> In the account of Hudson's Voyage, in 1607, he speaks of it as called *Newland* by the Hollanders. — *Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> Whether Groenland was so named, by Eric the Red, because it seemed to him verdant as compared with Iceland, or simply because he thought the name would be attractive to his countrymen, is not quite clear. "Terram quam invenerat Groenlandiam (viridem terram) nominavit; dicebat enim, hanc rem hominibus suasuram eò demigrare, quod terra specioso nomine gauderet." — *Antiquitates Americane, Particula de Eiriko Rufo*, p. 13.

Intercourse with that part of Greenland which was colonized by the Danes has been prevented by the ice since the beginning of the fifteenth century; but Scoresby, who landed on the coast some degrees further north, found it richer in plants and verdure than any other seen by him within the Arctic Circle. The grass, in one place, was a foot in height; and there were meadows in several places, that appeared nearly equal to any in England. — *Voyage of 1822*.



and Davis made their several discoveries between the years 1576 and 1588.

The Dutch were not prompt in claiming and exercising their rights as discoverers in the north. In 1603, Bear or Cherie Island was rediscovered, as has been stated, and named by the English. In 1607, Henry Hudson, having been despatched in a course due north towards the Pole, rediscovered Spitzbergen; and sailed, with a small bark and a crew of ten men and a boy, to a higher latitude, it is asserted, than was afterwards reached by any navigator for more than two centuries.<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's Headland, Whale Bay, and some other names still retained on the map, originated with him. In ranging homeward, he met with an island in the latitude of 71°, which he called Hudson's Touches.<sup>4</sup> A knowledge

<sup>3</sup> "A latitude which no ship after was able to approach for two hundred years, or until 1816; when Mr. Scoresby was the first to confirm the discoveries of Hudson." — *Beechey's Voyage of the Dorothea and Trent*, p. 204.

Beechey, however, thinks Hudson was mistaken in his latitude, as he speaks of seeing land as high as 82°; whereas no part of Spitzbergen reaches even to 81°. — *Ibid.*, p. 267.

The highest point reached by Capt. Parry over the ice north of Spitzbergen, in 1827, was 82° 45' north, in 19½° east; when he perceived that the movement of the whole body of the ice towards the south was bearing him back almost as rapidly as he advanced. He was, at that time, a hundred and seventy-two miles from his ship; and, as he had travelled the greater part of the distance several times over, he estimated that the same labor would have carried him nearly to the Pole, if the ice had been stationary. — *Ibid.*, p. 198.

The examples collected by Daines Barrington (chiefly from the Dutch whale-fishers), of vessels having sailed much further towards the Pole, are not regarded by Scoresby as sufficiently well authenticated. — *Scoresby's Arctic Regions*, vol. i. p. 42. See also Barrington's Miscellanies, — papers read before the Royal Society in 1774 and 1775.

<sup>4</sup> Edge's account of Northern Discoveries, in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 464. As the fact does not appear in the journal of the voyage, as given by Purchas in the same volume, it may be that the statement of Edge is not correct. If Hudson really found an island in the latitude of 71°, it was doubtless Jan Mayen; whose discovery is attributed to the Dutch, as having been made four years later by the navigator whose name it bears. "When the Russia (Muscovy) Company attempted to monopolize the fishery of the whole of the polar countries, this island was granted by the king to the corporation of Hull as a fishing station." — *Scoresby's Arctic Regions*, vol. i. p. 154.



of the great abundance of whales in the harbors of Spitzbergen was derived from this voyage.

Hudson went again to the north in 1608; and then, for some unexplained reason, entered into the service of the Dutch.<sup>5</sup> He was sent to the same regions by them in 1609. Hence it was as Heinrich or Hendrick Hudson — a Hollander *quoad hoc* — that he made his celebrated exploration of the harbor of New York, and the great river that gives to his memory so prominent a place in our annals. Sailing first to the North Cape, on the usual course to Nova Zembla and Russia, he suddenly changed his mind, and, with that eccentric boldness which belonged to his nature, directed his little vessel — sometimes described as a fly-boat, or yacht — across the Atlantic. The settlement of New Netherlands by the Dutch, and the prevalence of their names and blood in that section of our country, are the consequences of this voyage; forming another manifest link between the scenes and incidents properly connected with the present narrative and the planting of colonies on our shores. As a further coincidence, it may be mentioned, that it was in 1613 that the first buildings were erected on the Island of Manhattan, where now stands the commercial metropolis of this continent.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The Hollanders were constantly enticing English pilots and sailors into their service. Hudson's visit to Spitzbergen had probably attracted their attention.

<sup>6</sup> N. Y. Hist. Coll., vol. i., &c.; O'Callaghan's New Netherlands; Brodhead's Hist. of New York; &c., &c. Smith's History of New York, besides being wrong in the date of Hudson's voyage, has the strange error of representing him as sailing under a commission from the King of England, and afterwards selling the country to the Dutch!

"In most of the new branches of trade discovered by the English in the latter part of the sixteenth and the former part of the seventeenth century, we may observe that the Dutch followed close at their heels. This has been seen in the Russia trade,

Hudson's last voyage, from which he never returned, was made, at the charge of members of the Muscovy Company, in 1610. Having explored the Bay called after him, and attached to prominent localities within it the names of Smith, Digges, Wolstenholme, &c. (his patrons), — which have proved less permanent than his own, — he was set adrift in a boat by his mutinous crew, and perished, it is supposed, by cold or starvation.

After 1603, the Muscovy Company sent annually to Cherie Island for the mohorse, or morse (as the walrus was then called), until that animal grew comparatively scarce, and difficult to take: which might very well be the case, since Jonas Poole (the commander), in his accounts of these expeditions, speaks of slaying, at one time, seven or eight hundred of them in less than six hours; and again, nine hundred or a thousand in less than seven hours.<sup>7</sup> Such wholesale destruction would necessarily soon exhaust the supply to be derived from the beaches of a small island. Accordingly, in 1610, Poole was sent with one of the ships to Spitzbergen, and sailed along the western coast to a point in latitude 79° 50'; to which he gave the name of "Gurnard's Nose."<sup>8</sup> His report of the "great store of whales, grampuses, mohorses, &c.," to be found there, created so much interest, that he was appointed on a stipend to

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the north-east and north-west attempts for a passage to China, in planting America, in the circumnavigation of the globe, and in the East-India commerce." — *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 560.

<sup>8</sup> Gurnard, an acanthopterous fish, belonging to the genera *Trigla* (Linn.) and *Priotelus* (Cuv.); the latter being peculiar to America. — *New Am. Cyclopædia*, art. "Gurnard." There is a Gurnard's Nose at the south of England. The point near Plymouth, Mass., now known as the "Gurnet," was originally Gurnet's, or Gurnard's Nose.

conduct vessels to the new fishing ground, and to prosecute discoveries, with a commission as Grand Pilot.

Four ships, with one hundred and seven men and boys, including six Bask harpooners, were fitted out for Spitzbergen the following year; which is usually regarded as the beginning of the British whale-fishery.<sup>9</sup> Two of the ships, however, were to go thence to Nova Zembla, and prosecute discoveries.

Of the two vessels remaining at Spitzbergen, one was wrecked, and the other overset and sank while lading. The crews would have fared ill but for the presence of a "Hull interloper," commanded by Thomas Marmaduke, which carried the men and a portion of their freight to London.

Hull was, and is, one of the most active commercial towns in England. Its merchants were among the first to engage in the fisheries; and, disregarding the monopoly of the Muscovy Company, they sent their ships wherever the fish were most plentiful.

There was, at this time, a class of independent pilots, who were ready to enter any service that offered the best pay. Sometimes they were in the employment of

<sup>9</sup> This is said to have been the first voyage undertaken expressly for that purpose. — *Barrow's Chron. Hist.*, p. 226; *Scoresby's Arctic Regions*, vol. ii. p. 22; *Purchas*, vol. iii. p. 465. Of course, whales had been taken, long before, by the English; but not as a distinct and regular business. Anderson says, under date of 1593, "Some English ships now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Lawrence, in America; some for morse-fishing, and others for whale-fishing, says Hakluyt: which is the first mention to be met with of the latter fishery by any English. And, although they found no whales there, they, however, discovered on an island eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biscay ship had been lost three years before; and this, too, is the first account we have of whale-fins, or whalebone, by the English. How the ladies' stays were made, before this commodious material was found out, does not appear. It is probable that slit pieces of cane, or some tough and pliant wood, might have been in use before." — *Hist. of Com.*, vol. ii. p. 245.

the Muscovy Company; sometimes in that of the merchants of Hull; and sometimes they conducted the ships of Holland, France, or Spain. Thomas Marmaduke was one of these; another was Allen Sallowes; and another, Nicholas Woodcock. They were all apparently skilful navigators, and familiar with the Northern seas. Marmaduke was a discoverer; and, in 1612, went, according to Purchas, as far north as 82° in a Hull ship.<sup>1</sup> He was with the expedition of 1613, as a servant of the Muscovy Company. Sallowes had been employed by the company in their Northern voyages for twenty years; but, "leaving his country for debt, was entertained by the Hollanders to bring them to Greenland for their pilot."<sup>2</sup> Woodcock had been Poole's pilot in 1610, but piloted a Spanish ship in 1612, and is said to have been the cause of so many Dutch ships being at Spitzbergen the following year. For that offence, he was arrested, and suffered sixteen months' imprisonment in London.<sup>3</sup>

There seems to have been a general rush for the new fishing-ground, by vessels of various nations, in the summer of 1612; and it is remarkable, that the Dutch, who were the original discoverers of the country, should have been no less dependent than others upon English seamen for guidance.

At this juncture, the Muscovy Company, in addition to their privileges derived from previous patents, obtained a charter from King James, excluding all others, whether natives or aliens, from participating in the fisheries;

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<sup>1</sup> Poole's Narrative (in Purchas), vol. iii. p. 714.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 464.

and lost no time in seeking to maintain their own right, and that of the English crown, to control this important trade in its Northern localities.

The expedition of 1613, to which we have now arrived, was therefore fitted out with unusual care, and intrusted to the charge of some of the ablest men in the service. Besides the chief captain, Benjamin Joseph, William Baffin, and the author of our narrative, it was accompanied by Thomas Edge, who had already twice sailed to Spitzbergen. Purchas was indebted to Edge for the map of the coast inserted in his work; and also for a summary of Northern discoveries, which appears in the same volume. Baffin was attached to the ship of the commander of the fleet; and from that circumstance, apart from his personal reputation and the value of his scientific observations, his journal would naturally be the one selected for publication. The author of our account was in another vessel, often separated from the rest. He thus experienced a different series of incidents, or observed the same from a different point of view. Our manuscript has upon it no name to indicate its authorship. A leaf at the beginning, of which only a fragment remains, may have contained this information; as a few words of writing are still left, showing that a portion of both sides must have been originally covered. The circumstantial evidence pointing to Robert Fotherby as its author, is, however, nearly decisive. In the third volume of the "Pilgrimes" of Purchas are descriptions of the country, and of the business of whale-fishery as there conducted, so similar in thought and expression to those of our



manuscript, that they cannot have come from a different source, allowance being made for the alterations and transpositions to which Purchas habitually subjected his materials. In a marginal note, he says, "I have found this description of Greenland [Spitzbergen], with other notes, written by Robert Fotherby."<sup>4</sup> The reader of our narrative will be convinced that no part of it is borrowed; the writer's personality being manifest in every statement or description. Some passages from Purchas will be given in the proper place, to show that the accounts are substantially the same.

Little is known of Fotherby's private history. He was the author of the narratives of the two succeeding voyages; where the style very much resembles that of our manuscript. In the expedition of 1614, he and Baffin were engaged together in exploring the northern extremities of the island, and went in boats and over the ice as far as Sir Thomas Smith's Inlet; which is apparently the same as Henlopen Strait, although they supposed they saw the end of it at a depth of ten leagues. They took formal possession of the country on behalf of the Muscovy Company; and Fotherby drew "a plat" of a portion of the coast, which Purchas omitted, on the usual plea of its being "too costly" a matter to engrave it.

After this (his second voyage to Spitzbergen), Baffin went no more in that direction, but accompanied Bylot to the west side of Greenland Proper, where he explored the sea since designated as Baffin's Bay.

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<sup>4</sup> Pilgrimes, vol. iii. p. 472.



In 1615, Fotherby was alone in the charge of the vessel detailed for discovery.<sup>5</sup> Being unable to penetrate the ice north of Spitzbergen, he swept round by the coast of Greenland; and, meeting with the Island of Jan Mayen, rebaptized it with the ubiquitous name of Sir Thomas Smith. He corrected some of Hudson's observations in that quarter, and made a map of his course, which Purchas failed to insert. As he is not mentioned again, he probably died without making another voyage; leaving papers to which Purchas had access, and which he used to such extent as he found convenient for his purpose.

The name of Fotherby is a rare one in England, and limited, so far as we have discovered, to one stock, seated in the counties of Lincoln and Kent. John Fotherby, of Burton Stather in Lincolnshire, had two sons (Martin and Robert), whose children appear as of Kent. Martin had two sons, — Charles, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and Martin, Bishop of Salisbury.<sup>6</sup> As the archdeacon is said to have had ten children, — of whom only one son and four daughters survived at his death in 1619, — it is possible that Robert Fotherby, the navigator, may have been one of the deceased sons, and named for his father's uncle. The evidences of classical as well as mathematical culture which his narratives exhibit indicate a careful education and refined habitudes, that accord with such a supposition. As a

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<sup>5</sup> Purchas, vol. iii. p. 728. Barrow, evidently by accident, has the name of Baffin, instead of Fotherby, in his reference to this voyage. In the years 1615 and 1616, Baffin was with Bylot at the west of Greenland. The error is repeated by Beechey.

<sup>6</sup> Berry's County Genealogies (Kent), p. 268.

younger son in a large household, he would be not unlikely to enter the merchant service, and be trained to a seafaring life. The local influences of Kent must have had a strong tendency to excite a taste for maritime adventure. Sir Francis Walsingham, the Sidneys, Richard Chancellor, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Dudley Digges, were all men of Kent by origin or residence; and this local grouping of some of the most distinguished promoters of naval enterprise favors the supposition, that Fotherby may have belonged to that county.<sup>7</sup>

The manuscript journal, which we venture to believe was written by Robert Fotherby, is an uncommonly neat

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<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to notice the family ties that united so many of these men of grand ideas and great undertakings. Chancellor was brought up by Sir Henry Sidney, and, on his recommendation, was employed in Willoughby's expedition. — *Hakluyt*, vol. i. p. 271. One of the daughters of Sir Francis Walsingham was the wife of Sir Philip Sidney; another married Christopher Carlisle, who anticipated Raleigh in his plans of colonization, and, in the same year that Sir Humphrey Gilbert went to Newfoundland (1583), published a scheme for the transportation of a colony to this country, which he proposed to conduct in person. — *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 228 *et seq.* Sir Philip Sidney was prevented from engaging personally in a similar enterprise, only by the prohibition of the Queen. Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Dudley Digges were kinsmen. The widow of Sir Thomas Smith married Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, brother of Sir Philip, and grandfather of Algernon Sidney; and his eldest son married a daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick, one of the Council of New England. His grandson married a grand-daughter of the same Robert Sidney who became the husband of his widow. The last direct descendant of this branch is said to have been Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1777. But the two names of Sidney and Smith — which, in later times, have obtained a united distinction in literature and in arms — were cemented, at that period, by still another alliance. A nephew of Sir Thomas Smith was created a peer of Ireland in 1628, with the title of Viscount Strangford; and the son and heir of the viscount married Barbara Sidney, a daughter of the same Robert who married Sir Thomas Smith's widow. The present (or recent) Viscount Strangford, Percy Clinton Sidney Smith, is the son of an American lady; his father, who was in the English Army during our Revolution, having married Mary Eliza, daughter of Frederic Phillips, Esq., of New York. — *Berry's Genealogies*; *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 1847. We may remark, that the grand-daughter of Robert Sidney, whom the grandson of Sir Thomas Smith married, as above stated, was the "Sacharissa" of the poet Waller. She first married the Earl of Sunderland.

specimen of chirography; and the illustrations in water-colors are sketched with a good deal of spirit. The page is of folio size, with wide margins; and the leaves are carefully stitched into a thick parchment cover. The map of Spitzbergen — probably the earliest of that island — is unfortunately mutilated. An effort has been made to restore the parts that are lost, with the aid of Edge's later chart in the third volume of *Purchas*.<sup>8</sup> At what time and in what manner the manuscript came to this country, is not known. It was formerly in possession of Deacon James Green, a prominent merchant of Boston, who died about the beginning of the present century. His daughter, Mrs. Nabby Richmond, gave it to Benjamin R. Howland in 1808. From him it passed to Hon. John Howland, the late venerable President of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, who transferred it to the American Antiquarian Society in 1814. It has always been regarded with great interest by its various possessors. It is the story of a pleasant summer excursion to a region of perils, without being marked itself by any very moving incidents, or recording any exciting experiences of sufferings or hair-breadth escapes.

The Muscovy Company did not succeed in maintaining an exclusive right to the Spitzbergen fisheries. In 1614, the Dutch sent eighteen great ships, — four of them men-of-war, — which “stayed and fished perforce.” In 1615, three armed vessels, belonging to

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<sup>8</sup> Edge's map contains portions of the country, on the east side, which were not discovered till 1617. The map in the manuscript apparently embraced what was known of the coast after Fotherby's explorations in 1614.

that hereditary *telonarius*, the King of Denmark, came to the fishing-grounds to demand a *toll* of the English ; which was boldly refused by Fotherby, although they threatened to shoot down his flag.<sup>9</sup> During the next two years, the company made little profit, on account of the competition ; but added to their discoveries Edge's Island and Wyche's Land, on the easterly side of Spitzbergen. In 1618, a division of the coasts and harbors, for fishery, was made among the English, Dutch, Danes, Hamburgers, Spanish, and French.

The inducements for a continuance of the trade by the Muscovy Company were thus greatly diminished, particularly as they had on hand sundry other branches of traffic which had become very lucrative. The larger mercantile enterprises of this period appear to have been managed by nearly the same individuals. In 1581, a number of eminent merchants were incorporated for trade with Turkey ; and, in 1605, received a perpetual charter from King James as the merchants of England trading to the Levant seas. This corporation still exists, under the name of the Levant or Turkey Company. Their ordinary returns are said to have been three to one upon the investments. In 1599, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and principal merchants of London, to the number of about one hundred, formed an association for trade with the East Indies. This was incorporated in 1600 as the East-India Company, since so famous ; and Sir Thomas Smith, who had been one of the lead-

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<sup>9</sup> Letter of Fotherby to Capt. Edge (Purchas, vol. iii. p. 731). Edge himself claimed the credit of this denial ; and says these were the first Danish vessels that ever came to that country, and they were piloted by an Englishman. — *Ibid.*, p. 467.

ing men concerned in the Turkey Company, was appointed its first governor.

Although the first voyages of the East-India Company were not fortunate, they began, as early as 1609, to make immense profits; ranging from a hundred and twenty-one to three hundred and forty per cent for several years in succession. It was in 1613 that they obtained a firman from the Great Mogul for a factory at Surat, and also equal privileges from the Emperor of Japan. Before then, although acting in the name of the company, each member took what venture or risk he chose. It was then resolved that all future voyages should be on account of the whole company.<sup>1</sup>

The attention of these merchants might therefore very naturally be diverted from the commerce of Spitzbergen, becoming comparatively unproductive as it ceased to be a monopoly. Accordingly, a new combination was formed, — consisting of a mixed body of English, Scotch, and Zealanders, the Muscovy Company, and the East-India Company, — who undertook to conduct the fishery business jointly. But the arrangement was unsuccessful; and, in 1619, the trade was assumed by four members of the Muscovy Company, the experienced Capt. Edge being one of the number. These individuals, after a year or two, were discouraged by shipwrecks and other disasters; and the business, so far as any English companies were concerned, began to decline, although prosecuted by the merchants of

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<sup>1</sup> See Pict. Hist. of England (National Industry), book vi. chap. iv., and book vii. chap. iv.; and Anderson's Chron. Hist. of Commerce, *in loco*.



Hull, and other private adventurers, on their own account. The fishery had come to be virtually free to any one who chose to engage in it; and, not many years later, the trade was formally laid open to all adventurers.

A description of Spitzbergen, condensed from Mr. Scoresby's "Account of the Arctic Regions," may suitably conclude these introductory notes:—

"Spitzbergen extends farthest towards the north of any country yet discovered. It is surrounded by the Arctic Ocean, or Greenland Sea; and does not appear to have ever been inhabited. It lies between the latitudes  $76^{\circ} 30'$  and  $80^{\circ} 7'$  north, and between the longitudes of  $9^{\circ}$ , and perhaps  $22^{\circ}$ , east; but some of the neighboring islands extend at least as far north as  $80^{\circ} 40'$ , and still farther towards the east than the mainland.

"This country exhibits many interesting views, with numerous examples of the sublime. Its stupendous hills, rising by steep acclivities from the very margin of the ocean to an immense height; its surface, contrasting the native, protruding, dark-colored rocks with the burden of purest snow and magnificent ices, — altogether constitute an extraordinary and beautiful picture.

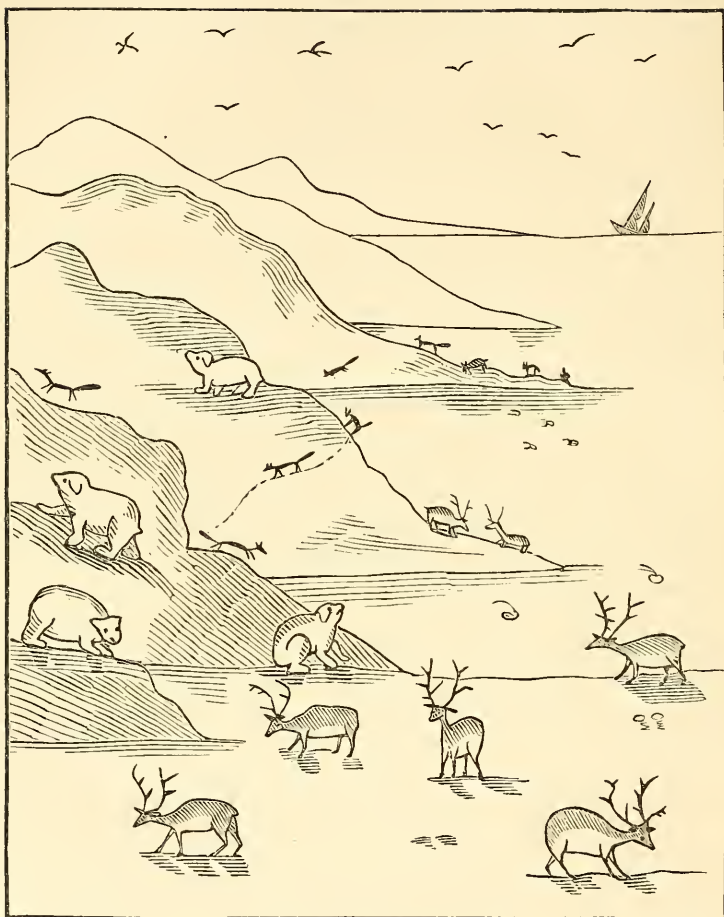
"The whole of the western coast is mountainous and picturesque; and, though it is shone upon by a four-months' sun every year, its snowy covering is never wholly dissolved. The valleys — opening towards the coast, and terminating in the background with a transverse chain of mountains — are chiefly filled with everlasting ice. Along the west coast, the mountains take their rise from within a league of the sea, and some from its very edge. Few tracts of tableland of more than a league are to be seen; and, in many places, the blunt terminations of the mountain ridges project beyond the regular line of the coast, and overhang the waters of the ocean. The southern part of Spitzbergen consists of groups of insulated mountains, frequently terminating in points, and occasionally in acute peaks not unlike spires; but a low flat, of about forty square miles in surface, constitutes the termination of the coast. The middle of Charles's Island is occupied by a mountain chain about thirty miles in length. Along the northern shore of Spitzbergen, and towards the north-east,



the land is neither so elevated, nor are the hills so sharp-pointed, as on the western coast. The central part of the chain of mountains in Charles's Island is a very interesting part of the coast. These mountains — which are, perhaps, the highest land adjoining the sea, which is to be met with — take their rise at the water's edge; and by a continued ascent of an angle at first of about  $30^{\circ}$ , and increasing to  $45^{\circ}$ , each comes to a point, with the elevation of about six-sevenths of an English mile. The points formed by two or three of them are so fine, that the imagination is at a loss to conceive of a place on which an adventurer, attempting the hazardous exploit of climbing one of the summits, might rest.

“Some of the mountains of Spitzbergen are well-proportioned, four-sided pyramids; others form angular chains resembling the roof of a house, which recede from the shore in parallel ridges, until they dwindle into obscurity in the distant perspective. Some exhibit the exact resemblance of art, but in a style of grandeur exceeding the famed Pyramids of the East, or even the more wonderful Tower of Babel.

“The climate of Spitzbergen is, no doubt, more disagreeable to human feeling than that of any other country yet discovered. Extending to within ten degrees of the Pole, it is generally intensely cold; and even in the three warmest months, the temperature not averaging more than  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , it is then subject to a cold occasionally of three, four, or more degrees below the freezing point. It has the advantage, however, of being visited by the sun for an uninterrupted period of four months in each year. But its winter is proportionally desolate; the sun in the northern parts of the country remaining perpetually below the horizon from about the 22d of October to about the 22d of February.”



NOTE. — The illustrations attached to this document have been reduced about one-half from the size of the originals.

# A SHORT DISCOURSE

OF A

VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1613 TO THE LATE-  
DISCOVERED COUNTRYE OF GREENLAND;<sup>1</sup>

AND A

BREIFE DISCRIPTION OF THE SAME COUNTRYE, AND THE COMODITIES  
THER RAISED TO THE ADVENTURERS.

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IN the moneth of May, 1613, seauen good ships, bound for Greenland,<sup>1</sup> were sett forth from the port of London; being furnished w<sup>th</sup> vittalls and other prouision necessarie for the killing of the whale, and 24 Basks,<sup>2</sup> who are men best experienced in that facultie, at the chardge and aduenture of the right worshipfull S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth, knight, and the rest of the companie of merchaunts tradeing into Moscouia, called the Merchants of Newe Trades and Discoueries.

In this fleet, Mr. Beniamin Joseph, of London, was cheife captaine and comissioner, — a man very sufficient, and worthy of his place.<sup>3</sup> A shippe called the Tiger, of burthen 260 tonnes, was admirall; the Mathew, of 250 tonnes, vice-admirall; and the Gamaliell, of 200 tonnes, rere-admirall; the fourth, the John and Francis, of 180 tonnes; the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Desire, of 180 tonnes; the 6<sup>th</sup>, the Anula, of 140 tonnes; and

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<sup>1</sup> Spitzbergen.

<sup>2</sup> The Basks, or Biscayans, had long been accustomed to capture a species of whale in the Bay of Biscay; and, as these became less abundant there, they gradually followed them into more Northern seas. They were among the earliest to pursue the fishery on the coasts of Newfoundland and New England. They were regarded as most expert in the use of the harpoon, and were also skilful coopers.

<sup>3</sup> Capt. Joseph commanded in two subsequent voyages. Purchas says he was slain in a fight with a Carrick (vol. iii. p. 716).

the 7<sup>th</sup>, the Richerd and Barnard, a piniace of 60 tonnes, intended for further discoverie.

Wee came to Grauesend the 30<sup>th</sup> of April, where wee staid but one tide, and then weyed anchor about 6 a-clock at the euening, and plied to Tilberry Hope, remaineing there all night. The next morneing, being the first of Maye, wee anchored againe in Lee Roade, where wee continued till the 4<sup>th</sup> of Maye; the winde keeping contrarie to us, betwixt north and north-east.

The 4<sup>th</sup> daie, about 3 a-clock afternoone, wee entered into the Swaile at Quinborowe,<sup>4</sup> and rid at anchor ther till the 13<sup>th</sup> of Maye. In w<sup>ch</sup> time, — namelie, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Maye, — the king's ships came by us in their retourne out of Holland from transporting the Count Palatine, and the Ladie Elizabeth, the king's onely daughter. Before they came neare us, wee caused our flaggs to be furl'd up; and, when they passed by us, our admirall shott off 7 peeces of ordnance; our vice-admirall, 5; and our rere-admirall, 3; and the rest of our fleet, ech of them, one. The Great Admirall of England, called the Prince, gave us 3 peeces; and the rest of the king's ships, ech of them, one.<sup>5</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> of Maye, about 9 a-clock in the morneing, wee came forth of the Swaile, and passed by the Sandes called the Spitts, holdeing our course north-east and nor-north-east.

The 14<sup>th</sup> daie, about noone, wee lost sight of Cromersheild, w<sup>ch</sup> is a cape on the coast of Norfolk, and was the last land of England that we sawe, being outward bound. Then wee stear'd awaie north, maintaineing that course till the 22<sup>d</sup> of Maye.

Our departure  
from England.

<sup>4</sup> Queenborough.

<sup>5</sup> The Princess Elizabeth, who was destined to experience so much misfortune, was married to the Count Palatine, Frederic V., on St. Valentine's Day, with an expense and magnificence before unknown in England. They were conveyed to Flanders in great state by the Lord-Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, with eight of the king's ships, besides transports for baggage.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> daie, wee had sight of land againe upon the coast of Norwaye, before wee came to the Baye of Rosse, beareing from us east and by north, and distant about 9 leagues, in the latitude of 61 degrees and 20 minutes, found by observation. Then, on the 22<sup>d</sup>, wee directed our course more easterlie, as north-and-by-east and nor-north-east.

The 24<sup>th</sup>, wee were in the latitude of 67 degr. and 36 minutes, where the sunne was in the horison at the time of midnight; and, after that time, wee had continuall dailight dureing our voyage; till, in our retourne homeward, wee had the sunne againe in the circle of the horison, when he came to the north of our meridian, in the latitude of 75 degrees, on the 2 of August.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye, about 4 a-clock in the morneing, wee discried our wisht-for coast of Greenland,<sup>6</sup> being all our ships in company; and wee had bene but 17 daies at sea, — viz., from the 13<sup>th</sup> till the 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye: haueing sailed, according to the difference of latitude and longitude by an arch of a great circle, 500 leagues; and according to the ship's way, by our account on dead reconeing, 514 leagues.

Wee ariued on  
the coast of  
Greenland.

Then wee plied nearer to the shoare, and discerned the mountaines to be couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe: notwithstanding wee had no trouble w<sup>th</sup> ice all this while, as wee expected; for it was almost all voided er wee came ther. Nowe wee coasted along towards S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth's Baye, passing on the west side of Prince Charles his Iland, by reason of a barre that is betwixt the iland and the maine continent of the land, w<sup>ch</sup> hinders us to passe w<sup>th</sup> our ships that waie.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of June, wee were becalm'd on the south-west side of the iland, about 5 leagues from the shoare, where I obserued the north sunne at the time of midnight to be 11 degr. and 15 minutes high; so concludeing the latitude in that

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<sup>6</sup> Spitzbergen.

place to be 78 degr. and 5 minutes (the sunne's declinaçõn for that daie being 23 degr. 10 minutes).

The 2<sup>d</sup> of June, haueing gotten a little more northward, and being on the west side of the iland, againe becalm'd, about 3 leagues distant from shoare, I and Joh. Wilmote, one of the master's mates, w<sup>th</sup> 6 more of our sailors, went ashoare in a Biska shallop, purposeing to kill some deare and some wilde fowle: and, to that end, wee took w<sup>th</sup> us such dogs as wee had in our ship,\* — viz., a grewhownd, a mastiffe, and a water-spaniell; and two fowleing-peeces, w<sup>th</sup> shott and powder.

\* The Mathew.

Wee landed upon a hard shingle, comeing close to the shoare w<sup>th</sup> our boat, ther being no ice to keepe us off; notwithstanding, upon 5 or 6 rocks neare the shoare-side, ther laie a great quantitie of ice, w<sup>ch</sup> couered them in such sorte, that the hollownes or distances betwixt one rock and another appeared under the ice like vaulted caues. After that wee were landed upon the shingle, the ice, or congealed snowe, was so high upon the shoare, that it withstood us like a strong wall to passe anie further: wherefore wee were faine one to help up another, it being more then a man's height in thicknes, and haueing manie long isicles hanging in diuers places.

When wee were up, and had gon about 2 roods, wee might p'ceave that wee were upon the ground, or sand; yett could not well see it, by reason of the snowe. Then did wee look about if wee could see anie deare; and presentlie espied one buck: whereupon wee dispersed ourselues seuerall waies, to gett betwixt him and the mountaines; slipping sometimes to the midleg into the snowe, w<sup>ch</sup>, for the most parte, did beare us aboue. In our waie, wee went ouer 2 or 3 bare spotts that were full of flatt stones, whereon there grewe a certaine white mosse, w<sup>ch</sup>, it seemes, the deare doe feed upon at the first beginning of their sōmer; for theise spotts were full of their ordure: and, besides, wee then sawe not any other thing for them to liue on.



Before that wee came neare the buck w<sup>ch</sup> wee first espied, wee sawe 4 more not farre from him, and 2 in another place; and therefore wee hounded at the fairest heard: but then they came all one waie together, and (avoideing all circumstances) wee kil'd three of them, being all bucks, w<sup>ch</sup> wee found then to be but pore rascals, yet verie good meat, as wee presentlie made tryall, and tasted. For, finding ther (as ther is in all places of the countrie) great store of driftwood, w<sup>ch</sup> the sea bestowes on the barren land, and being also well provided of hunter's sauce, wee made a fier, and broiled some of our venison, and did eat therof w<sup>th</sup> verie good appetites; much like to that, in Virgil, of Æneas and his companions:—

“Ac primum silici scintillam excudit *Achates* \*  
 Suscepitq. ignem *lignis* ;” † . . . . .  
 Pars in frusta secant, *verubusque* ‡ tremenia figunt.  
 . . . . .  
 Tum victu reuocamus vires.”

\* Master's mate.

† Folia enim  
 nulla cadunt,  
 ubi est neq.  
 flos nec arbor.

‡ Wooden spitts.

Being thus well refreshed, wee were willing to have killed more venison, because wee needed not to use much labour in hunteing for our game; for the deare that had latelie escaped us were not gon farre from us. But the aire began to be so thick and foggie, that wee aduised better to goe presentlie a-board w<sup>th</sup> that w<sup>ch</sup> wee had alreadie gotten, least that the fog, increaseing, might have made us loose sight of our ship: therfore wee made speedie waie towards her, and came aboard about 11 a-clock before the time of midnight.

Then wee continued still becalm'd till the next morning, and then were so befriended w<sup>th</sup> a fresh gale of winde, that wee sailed to the north end of the iland w<sup>th</sup> a flowen sheat; and, makeing manie boards, wee plied into S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Smyth's Baye, where wee anchored about 8 a-clock that euening.

Wee harboured  
 in S<sup>r</sup> Tho.  
 Smyth's Baye.

When wee were come to an anchor, then the Basks, our whale-strikers, went presentlie back againe to

the Foreland<sup>7</sup> w<sup>th</sup> their shallops, ther to attend the comeing-in of the whales ; and, when our men had taken some rest, they carried ashore our coppers, cask, and other prouisions for makeing of oile, and prepared all things readie for use as speedilie as wee could. For newes was brought us in the morneing, that the Basks had kil'd a whale : therefore wee hasted to sett up our founaces and coppers, and presentlie began work ; w<sup>ch</sup> wee continued (God be thanked), without anie want of whales, till our voyage was made ; not receaueing anie intermission of rest but onelie on the Saboth daie. For, when some slept, others wrought ; and, haueing a continuall daie, wee alowed no time of night for all men to sleepe at once, but maintained work from Sundaye about 5 a-clock, afternoone, till Saturdaye at 12 a-clock in time of midnight ; dureing w<sup>ch</sup> time our men receaued no other recreation from work and sleepe but onelie the time of eateing their meat, whereof they had sufficient, thrice in every 24 howers : besides, some of them had alowed aquauitæ at ech 4 howers' end.

The next daie after that wee came into harbour, word was brought to our generall from Green Harbour (a place where 3 ships of our fleet put in to make their voyage), that 5 ships, French and Spanish, were come into Ice Sound, and intended ther to fish for the whale : upon w<sup>ch</sup> occasion, the Tiger, our admirall, weyed anchor the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, and, being well man'd w<sup>th</sup> 60 sufficient men, went out of harbour from us towards Ice Sound ; where, when he came, he found the aforesaid ships according to the information, and anchored close by them. Then he hailed the captaines and masters of theise ships to come presentlie aboard him : w<sup>ch</sup> they performeing accordinglie, he shewed them the king's ma<sup>ties</sup> patent graunted to the Merchants of Newe Trades and Discoueries, and therewithall his comission ; forbidding them, by the authoritie

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<sup>7</sup> The northern extremity of Prince Charles's Island.

therof, to make anie longer aboard ther, or in anie parte of the country, at their perills. Whereupon they, not knowing howe to remedie themselves, did all promise to departe, desiring a note from our general wherby they might certefie their setters-forth that they had bene in the countrie; except one ship of Burdeaux, called the Jaques, wherof was maister, Peirce de Siluator, who was permitted to staie upon condition that he should first kill 8 whales for us, and then to kill more what he could for himself. And, by this conclusion, he made a good voyage: for he kil'd 12 whales in all; whereof wee had 8, and he had 4.

Then did our admirall continue as a wafter alongst the coast till the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, and then he came to us againe into Sr Thomas Smyth's Baye. In w<sup>ch</sup> time of his absence, he had mett w<sup>th</sup> 17 ships; viz., 4 of Holland, 2 of Dunkerk, 4 of St. John de Luz, and 7 of St. Sebastian's. The commanders of all those ships had submitted to our general, and were content either to departe out of the country, or els to staie upon such condicōns as he propounded unto them.

On the 8 of June, about 11 a-clock before the time of midnight, Mr. Marmaduke<sup>8</sup> — who was captaine of our vice-admirall — and I, w<sup>th</sup> 6 or 7 sailers, went in a shallop to the beach at the Barre, marked w<sup>th</sup> *a*,<sup>9</sup> to cause our men gather driftwood together, and laie it readie at the water-side to lade a small Flemish flieboat that was to come hither to fetch it. Upon this beach, wee saw lieing ther, by our estimacōn, neare 300 morses, at the verie pointe or end of it; but wee would not goe too neare them for disturbing them. When the flieboat was come to take in the wood, Mr. Marmaduke and I came awaie in the shallop; and haueing present occasion to use a peice of straight timber about our

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Marmaduke (see *ante*, p. 274).

<sup>9</sup> The Bar may be seen upon the map; but the letter *a* is wanting.

crane, before the flieboat could be laded, wee caused the men that rowed the shallop to tow a tree after them. Nowe, when wee had put off a little from the shoare, ther came 5 or 6 morses swimming hard by us and about us; some of them coming so neare the sterne of the bote, that we called for our launces, purposeing to strike them. They would diuers times laie their teeth upon the tree w<sup>ch</sup> wee towed (as it were, scratching the wood w<sup>th</sup> their teeth); but wee still rowed awaie, and at length they left us. Then wee passed thorow a great deale of small ice, and sawe, upon some peices, two morses; and upon some, one; and also diuers seales, layeing upon peices of ice.

A storme in  
harbour.

The 19<sup>th</sup> of June, wee had a verie great storme, — the winde being at south-south-west, — w<sup>ch</sup> was like to have driuen our ships upon the shoare; and, haueing 3 dead whales floating at the sternes of our ships, wee were glad to cutt the hausers that they were tyed in, and to lett them driue a shoare, because wee feared otherwise that they would haue caused our ships either to break their cables or to haile home their anchors, and so be driuen upon the shoare. When the storme ceast, haueing continued about 6 howers, the water fell from the shoare; and wee sawe two of the whales lie cast upon the shoare, and the water falne from them againe. The third whale was driuen further off; but wee found him againe cast also upon the shoare, haueing lost almost all his finnes<sup>1</sup> out of his mouth. Ther was also, at the same time, 5 whales' heads driuen ashoare, w<sup>th</sup> touns and finnes in them; whereby some labour was saued, w<sup>ch</sup> should otherwise haue bene bestowed about hailing them ashoare for the cutting-out of the finnes.

The 21<sup>st</sup> of June, ther came a white beare downe from the mountaines, and took into Fresh-water Baye; w<sup>ch</sup> is the water

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<sup>1</sup> Whalebone, then called whale's fins.

you see marked w<sup>th</sup> e, w<sup>thin</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth's Baye:<sup>2</sup> and Thomas Wilkinson, one of the master's mates in the Mathew, vice-admiral, went forth in a shallop, and shott him w<sup>th</sup> a peece as he was swimming, and kil'd him, and brought him to the shoare.

In this harbour, ther haue bene killed more whales than in anie other, but verie fewe deare; notwithstanding ther hath bene slaine in the country, this voyage, about 400 deare. Wee kil'd very fewe morses, by reason the whales came in so fast that wee could not haue a fitt oportunitie to goe about that buisines; although ther was said to be, at one time, about 500 morses upon the beach before mentioned: to w<sup>ch</sup> place wee went, prepared for their slaughter, the sixt of Julie; and found ther but about 40, whereof were killed 32; and wee took their hides, their fat, and their teeth.

Wee killed also good store of wilde fowle; as wilde-geese, culuerdumes, willocks, and such like; and some white land-partridges. Wee caught manie young foxes, w<sup>ch</sup> wee made as tame and familiar as spaniell-whelpes. I brought one of them out of the country, till wee came on the coast of England; and then he died.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, the Mathew began to take in hir ladeing; and was fullie fraighted the 6<sup>th</sup> of July w<sup>th</sup> 184 tonnes of oyle, and 5,000 finnes, w<sup>ch</sup> were in 100 bundles, ech containeing 50.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, the Mathewe, and the Richard and Barnard (w<sup>ch</sup> was also laded w<sup>th</sup> oyle and finnes), weyed anchor forth of S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Smyth's Baye, w<sup>th</sup> purpose to come presentlie for England; and the Tiger, our admiral, came also forth w<sup>th</sup> us to waft us alongst the coast of Greenland.<sup>3</sup> But, putting into Bel Sound the

Wee weyed  
anchor out of  
S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Sm.  
Baye.

<sup>2</sup> The position here referred to belonged to a part of the map that was mutilated; and, although the outline has been restored, the locality above mentioned cannot be precisely indicated.

<sup>3</sup> By Greenland, in this narrative, is always meant *Spitzbergen*.



11<sup>th</sup> of July, expecting to finde some strangers ther, wee espied accordinglie 5 ships at anchor on the west side of Joseph's Bay. One of them seemed unto us to be a verie great ship; as, indeed, she was: and other two of them seemed also to be good stowt ships. And therefore wee, supposing them to be such as would withstand us, resolved to feight w<sup>th</sup> them; and made speedie preparation accordinglie, hanging out our waist-cloths and clearing our decks, that the ordnance might haue roome to plaie; and made readie all our munition, ech one addressing himself w<sup>th</sup> a forward resoluçõn to performe a man's parte so well as he could.

This was about 9 a-clock before the time of midnight, the sunne shineing very bright, and the aire being very cleare, and so calme, that wee caused ye saylers, w<sup>th</sup> boats and shallops, to rowe ahead of our ships, and towe them into the harbour. When wee came neare them, the captaine of the great ship, whose name was Michael de Aristega (his ship being of S<sup>t</sup> John de Luz, of burthen 800 tonnes), came in a shallop aboard our admirall, submitting himself and his goods unto our generall; and tould him that ther were two ships of the Hollanders, who had insulted ouer him, and would not suffer him to fish for the whale, but upon such condiçõns as they propounded unto him: namely, that the Hollanders, haueing but 3 shallops, and he 7 furnished w<sup>th</sup> whale-strikers, they should all ioine together; and the Hollanders not onelic to haue the one-half of all the whales that should be kil'd, but also to haue the first whale that was stricken wholie to themselues, ouer and besides the half of the rest. And he further tould the general, that the Hollanders would haue persuaded him to combine w<sup>th</sup> them against us, and to beate us out of the countrye. Then the generall willed him to goe aboard againe of his owne ship, and keepe his men in quietnes, and he would deale well enough w<sup>th</sup> the Hollanders. So,



passing further on, they were known to be 2 ships of Amsterdam, w<sup>ch</sup> our admirall had formerlie mett withall, and dischargd to staie in ye country. Then, comeing by close to them, our admirall anchored on the one side of them, and our vice-admirall on the other side; but they, as men unwilling to be deprived of the ritches they had gotten, allthoug unable by force to hold them, kept out their flags, — the one in the maine-top and the other in the fore-top, as admirall and vice-admirall. Then our generall comaunded the maisters to come aboard his ship: w<sup>ch</sup> they doeing, he chardged them w<sup>th</sup> the breach of their promise formerlie made unto him; viz., that they would departe out of the country. Then, after some other speeches, he, not finding them willing to resigne the goods they had gotten, — as whale oile and finnes, — tould them that they must not think to carrie anie of it awaie, seeing that they did so sleightlie esteeme the king's ma<sup>ties</sup> grant formerlie shewed them: therefore he bad them goe againe to their owne ships, and they should haue half an hower's space to consider and aduise w<sup>th</sup> themselues what to doe; and, if that they thought fitt to giue him further answer before the glasse were runne out, then good it were; otherwise, if they would not then yield their goods, he would feight w<sup>th</sup> them for them. So ech of them went aboard his own ship, and, without anie long deliberation, caused their flags to be taken in; and, retourning to our generall, yeilded their goods to his disposing. Nowe, although it was intended that our two laded ships should goe presentlie for England, notwithstanding, it was thought fitting not to leaue our admirall alone amongst his offended neighbours; and therefore wee staied till the two Hollanders were gon, who (being dispossessed of some oile and finnes they had alreadie stowed in their ships, and also of some dead whales that were floateing at their ships' side) went forth of harbour, one of them the 15<sup>th</sup>, and the other the 18<sup>th</sup>, of July.

Wee anchored  
again in  
Joseph's Baye.

The great ship of St. John de Luz staid still; the captaine of hir being content that his men should hould on their work, and his whale-strikers to continue fishing, upon condicōn granted that he should have onelie one-half of all the oile w<sup>ch</sup> he should make.<sup>4</sup> Ther were also in the same harbour 2 small ships, — the one of Biska, and the other a Flemish flie-boat; besides another little pinace, of St. John de Luz, w<sup>ch</sup> was on the east side of the iland, within L. Elesmere Baye, marked with *b*.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of July, about 9 a-clock in the euening, wee sent forth 2 shallops, w<sup>th</sup> men, to goe kill some venison; who retourned againe w<sup>th</sup> 17 bucks and does slaine: yet had they no dog w<sup>th</sup> them, but onelie peeces. And they brought also aboard the skinne of a white beare w<sup>ch</sup> they had kil'd.

The 25<sup>th</sup> of July, the Desire came to us into Joseph's Bay out of Green Harbour, and tooke in 30 tonnes of blubber to make up hir full ladeing; for shee was to come w<sup>th</sup> us, one of the first, for England.

The 29<sup>th</sup> of July, wee had some trouble w<sup>th</sup> great  
Wee were  
troubled w<sup>th</sup>  
ice. ice; the water being verie rough, and the winde

bloweing hard at east-south-east, w<sup>ch</sup> brought some ilands of ice towards our ships, wherof some fell 'thwart our hauses: so that wee were faine, w<sup>th</sup> pikes and oares, to keepe it cleare of our ships; and also glad to lett fall our sheat-anchor, to keep us from being drinen upon the lee shoare.

In this harbour, ther was killed great store of venison, 3 or 4 white beares, and some sea-morses, w<sup>ch</sup> the Hollanders

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<sup>4</sup> Baffin says in his narrative, that the Holland ships would have fought if the Spanish ship would have stood by them. The apparent want of spirit of the Spaniards may be explained by the following passage from Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*: "The King of Spain is so cautious not to give offence, that when Greenland (Spitzbergen) was discovered by the English, and some of his Biscay subjects repaired thither to kill the whale for oil, — being more expert than any other nation, — the king, considering what wrong was done to the King of England by it, and that it might concern him in the like case to have the Indies encroached upon, prohibited his subjects from going to Greenland to molest or hinder the English in their fishing." — *Churchill's Coll.*, vol. iii. p. 344.

had slaine and flayed before wee came thither; for ther laie their bodies, without either fatt, skimmes, or teeth.

One thing more I obserued in this harbor, w<sup>ch</sup> I haue thought good also to sett downe. Purposeing, on a time, to walk towards the mountaines, I, and two more in my companie, ascended up a long plaine hill, as wee supposed it to be; but, haueing gon a while upon it, wee perceaued it to be ice. Notwithstanding, wee proceeded higher up, about the length of half a mile; and, as wee went, sawe manie deepe rifts or gutters in the land of ice, w<sup>ch</sup> were crackt downe thorowe to the ground, or, at the least, an exceeding great depth; as we might well perceau by heareing the snowe-water runne belowe, as it does oftentimes in a brook whose current is somewhat opposed w<sup>th</sup> little stones. But, for better satisfactiōn, I brake downe some peeces of ice w<sup>th</sup> a staffe I had in my hand; w<sup>ch</sup>, in their falling, made a noise on ech side much like to a peice of glasse throwen downe the well within Douer Castle: wherby wee did æstimate the thicknes or height of this ice to be 30 fathomes. This huge ice, in my opinion, is nothing but snowe, w<sup>ch</sup> from time to time has, for the most parte, bene driuen of the mountaines; and, so continueing and increasing all the time of winter (w<sup>ch</sup> may be counted three-quarters of the yeare), cannot possiblīe be consumed w<sup>th</sup> the thawe of so short a sōmer, but is onelīe a little dissolved to moisture, wherby it becomes more compact, and, w<sup>th</sup> the quick-succeeding frost, is congealed to a firme ice. And thus it is like still to increase, as (I think) it hath done since the world's creation.

On Saturday, the 31<sup>st</sup> of Iulye, about 5 a-clock after noone, wee weyed anchor out of Joseph's Bay, Wee came for England. to come for England,—namelīe, the Mathew, the Desire, and the Richard and Barnard; leauing ther our admirall the Tiger and the great ship of St. John de Luz. At 9 a-clock that euening, wee weare at sea, about 6 leagues from the land; and then directed our course for Cherrie Iland, south-and-by-east.

The next daie, being the 1 of August, about 8 a-clock before noone, there came a shallop aboard the Desire, w<sup>th</sup> 11 Dutchmen that belonged to one of the Hollanders' ships that wee had latelie sent forth of Bel Sound. The occasion of their so comeing was this: Six of these men had gon ashoare from their ship to kill some venison; and, landeing at the time of a high water, they made fast their shallop; and so left her, safe enough, as they supposed, and went up into the land: but, when the water fell againe, the shallop was splitt upon a rock, and by that meanes they were forced to staie ther. Nowe, they that were in the ship, considering that their fellowes staied verie long, began to doubt of some unwelcome euent that hindered their retourne; and therefore they sent 5 men more in another shallop to knowe the cause of their so long absence. When these men last sent forth came ashoare, they found the other men, who tould them the occasion of their staie. Then went they all aboard the shallop, and rowed towards their ship; but the aire was growen to be verie mistie, and such a thick fog increased, that they could not by anie meanes find their ship: wherfore they were faine to rowe to the shoare againe. Then followed stormie weather, the winde bloweing of the shoare, w<sup>ch</sup> caused the ship to haile further of to sea: so that, when the aire was cleare, notwithstanding, they could not see her: wherby they were much discouraged, being in a place that could yeild them but little comforte. And thus they contynued 8 daies: in w<sup>ch</sup> time they liued w<sup>th</sup> the flesh of 2 bucks and a beare, w<sup>ch</sup> they had killed,—being eleuen men; and more they could not kill, because their powder was spent. Then, seeing our ships come by, they rowed fast, and came aboard of us. And so wee brought them into England, where they had some monie alowed them, for their work at sea, by the Company of Moscouy Merchants; although (God be praised) wee never stood any need of their helpe: and so they were free to departe homeward, when they could gett shipping.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of August, wee were about 10 leagues distant from Cherry Iland, but could not see it by reason of ill weather; the winde being contrarie, not suffering us to touch ther, as wee intended: therfore wee steer'd awaie, south-and-by-west and south-south-west, for England. After this daie, the sunne began to sett, and to be depressed under the horizon at midnight; the nights began to lengthen, and starres to beare vewe.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, Mr. Greene, one of the master's mates, died in the Mathewe, about 10 a-clock before noone; and, about 4 a-clock in the afternoone, he was cast ouer-board, and a peice of ordnance shott of.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of August, about 5 a-clock in the morneing, wee fell w<sup>th</sup> the coast of England, and discried land about Huntclif Foot, w<sup>ch</sup> is northward from Scarbrough, on the coast of Yeorkshire; and was the first land that wee sawe after we lost sight of Greenland.

Wee arrived  
on the coast of  
England.

The next daie, about 3 a-clock after noone, wee anchored in Winterton Roade; w<sup>ch</sup> is 6 miles from Yarmouth. Then I caused the shallop to be taken out, and 6 sailers to sett me ashoare within 2 miles of Yarmouth, where I lodged that night: and, haueing provided a horse, I rid out of the towne the next morneing at 9 a-clock, being Friday, and came to London at 3 a-clock afternoone, on Saturday; not haueing receaued anie sleepe at all betwixt Yarmouth and London. Our ships came up to Blackwall on the Teusday next after; and, so soone as they had deliuered their goods, the other 4 ships of our fleet came also safe home w<sup>th</sup> their ladeings. And thus, by the mercie of God, we ended our voyage w<sup>th</sup> good successe. To God, therefore, be praise and glory for euer. Amen.

Wee anchored  
in Winterton  
Roade.

I came home  
to London.



*A Breife Discription of the Country of Greenland, otherwise called  
King James his New Land.*

Greenland is a countrie beareing from England northward, nearest upon the pointe of the compasse, north-and-by-east. The southmost parte of it is distant from the Arctique Circle 10 degr. northwards; namelie, in the latitude of 76 degr. 30 minutes. This country hath bene discovered by the English almost to the parallel of 83 degr.; w<sup>ch</sup> is but 7 degr. eleuation distant from the North Pole, and therfore but 140 leagues from that point upon the superficies of the earth or water (whither it be) where the Pole shal be our zenith, and the Æquinoctiall our horizon.

In the latitude of 79 degr. (where wee made the greatest parte of our voyage this yeare), the sunne, when he entereth into the 1 degr. of Cancer,—makeing the longest daie and shortest night to all places betweene the Æquator and the Polar Circle,—is in his meridional altitude, or greatest distance from the horizon, 34 degr. 30 minutes high, and, at the time of his comeing to the north, is still apparent aboue the horizon, 12 degr. 30 minutes.

Variacon of the  
compasse, W.

The compasse varieth in this place from the true meridian, or line of north and south, neare 20 degr.; the north end of the needle inclineing so much towards the west.

The nature and condiçõn of this country of Greenland is verie much different from the name it hath; for I think ther is no place in the world yett knowen and discovered is lesse green then it. For, when we first ariued ther,—w<sup>ch</sup> was on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Maye,—the ground was all couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe, both the mountaines and the lowe land, saue onelie some fewe spotts that were full of flatt stones, wheron ther grewe a certaine white mosse, w<sup>ch</sup>, as it seemes, the deare doe feed



upon at the first beginning of their sommer; for theise bare spotts were very full of their ordure: and, besides, wee could not see anie other thing for them to feed upon.

The thawe began this yeare about the 10<sup>th</sup> of June; at w<sup>ch</sup> time ther began to spring up, in some places where the snowe was melted, a certaine stragling grasse, w<sup>th</sup> a blewish flower, much like to young heath, or ling, w<sup>ch</sup> growes upon moreish grounds in the north parts of England. And this is that wherewithall the deare, in a short time, become exceeding fatt. But how they liue in the time of extreame winter, when all is couered w<sup>th</sup> snowe, I cannot imagine.<sup>5</sup> Yet the meanes of their preseruacōn is not more strange to man's capacitie then is their creation: and, therefore, wee must knowe that He who made the creature hath also ordained that he shal be fed; although, to our understandings, ther is not anie food to sustaine them.

In the moneths of June, Julye, and the beginning of August, ther is oftentimes pleasant and warme weather; but, in the other moneths, certainlie very uncomfortable. For the temperature of the winter time maie be iudged, by the qualitie of the place, to be extreame cold, especiallie dureing that time wherein the sunne shal be altogether depressed under the horizon; w<sup>ch</sup>, in the former latitude of 79 degr., continues from the 11<sup>th</sup> of October till the 10<sup>th</sup> of Februarye: and contrarilie it is eleuated altogether aboue the horizon from the 9<sup>th</sup> of April till the 14th of August. The rest of the time is an in-

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<sup>5</sup> Purchas, with *Fotherby's* notes before him, writes thus: "Greenland is a place in nature nothing like vnto the name; for certainly there is no place in the world, yet knowne and discovered, that is lesse greene than it. It is conered with snow, both the mountaines and the lower lands, till about the beginning of June, being very mountainous; and beareth neither grasse nor tree, save onely such as grow vpon the moores and heathie grounds in the north parts of England, which we call heath, or ling. This groweth when the snow melteth, and when the ground beginneth to be unconered: and on this doe the deere feed in the summer-time, and become very fat therewithal in a moneth's space; but how they liue in the winter-time, it is not easily to be imagined," &c.

tercourse of long daie and short night, and contrailie of short daie and long night.

The country afoardeth great plentie of fresh water in all places, w<sup>ch</sup> proceeds from the snowe; and, therefore, ther can be no want therof at anie time: for ther is alwaies snowe, and (I think) euer hath bene since snowe first fell upon the earth. Besides, I found ther, w<sup>th</sup>in S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Smyth's Baye, a very pleasant spring, neare the water-side, boiling (as it were), and workeing up sand, euen as our springs doe in England; being as pleasant water as anie I euer tasted in England.

The comōdities of the countrie, hitherto knowen, are cheiflie whales and sea-morses. The whale yeilds oile and finnes; and the morse yeilds oyle, hydes, and teeth of good valewe,—wherof he hath but two, and they growe in his uppermost jawe. Ther be also white whales, and seales, w<sup>ch</sup> wee thought not to be worthy of time and labor to kill them; seeing that wee were imploied about the aboue-mentioned comōdities. Wee sawe very fewe fishes ther, or rather none at all; saue onelie one cod, w<sup>ch</sup> was caught, w<sup>th</sup> a baited hook, in Green Harbour. But the Basks, our whale-strikers, doe saie that they haue sundrie times seene good store of salmons.

Upon the land, ther be manie white bears, graie foxes, and great plentie of deare; and also white partridges; and great store of wilde fowle, as culuerduns, wilde geese, sea-pigeons, sea-parats, willocks, stint, guls, and diuers others, wherof some are as unworthy of nameing as tasteing. The land also doth yeild much driftwood, whales' finnes, morses' teeth, and sometimes unicorn-hornes, w<sup>ch</sup> are supposed to be rather of some sea creature then of anie land beast. And these things the sea casteth forth upon the shoare to supplie the barrenes of the fruitles land; w<sup>ch</sup>, by the Diuine Prouidence, hath sufficient to maintaine those unreasonable creatures w<sup>ch</sup> ther wee found; but, by all likelihood, was neuer yet inhabited by anie natiues that beare the shape of man,—the countrý being alto-

gether destitute of necessaries wherewithall a man might be preserved in the time of winter.

I have thought good here to sett downe what was written concerning this country by one of Amsterdam, that was this yeare in Greenland (w<sup>th</sup> whom I ther sometimes conuersed), as it is sett forth in printe by some of Holland, and (w<sup>th</sup> other things concerning this present voyage) is inserted in a late edition of Hudson's Discoueries:—

“Hæc pessima et frigidissima est regio mundi, undique rupes, montes, lapides: tanta ibi aquarum terram inundantium copia, vt vestigia hominum non admittat; maxima glaciei ibi copia, tantaque montium glacialium multitudo, ut ab ipsa natiuitate Christi, concreuisse videantur; tanta enim niuium abundantia, vt fidem superet. Ceruis abundat et vrsis, et vulpibus; cerui planè sunt albi coloris. Admiror tantos ceruorum greges, vnde viuant, cum regio niuibz tegatur, et planè sit sterilis. Auibz luxuriat, maximè anseribus minoribus qui turmatim conueniunt.”<sup>6</sup>

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*The Manner of Killing the Whale, and of the whole Proceedings  
for performeing of the Voyage.*

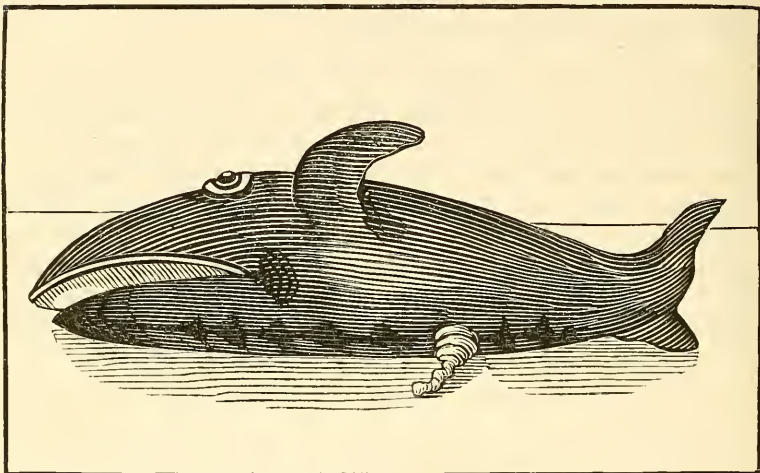
The whale is a fish, or sea-beast, of a huge bignesse, about 60 feet long, and 18 feet thick. His head seemes to be one-third parte of his whole quantitie. His finnes (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call whalebone in England) doe growe, and are wholie included w<sup>th</sup>in, his spacious mouth; being fastened, and, as it

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<sup>6</sup> The title of the book here referred to is “Descriptio ac Delineatio geographica Detectionis Freti, sive Transitus ad Occasum, supra Terras Americanas, in Chinam et Japonem,” &c. Amst. 1613. 4to. In it the above passage occurs as a quotation, in Italics, preceded by the following remark: “Hæc vera esse, fidem faciunt testes oculati reduces, etiam literæ Navarchi Thomæ Bonaert et Semmij, ejus hæc verba, sub finem, in literis ad patrem de qualitate hujus regionis.”

This Thomas Bonaert may be no other than Thomas *Bonner*, who commanded a Dutch ship at Spitzbergen, which was captured by the English, and sent northward for discovery, under Master Marmaduke. (Baffin's Narrative, in Purchas, vol. iii. pp. 717, 719.

were, rooted, in his uppermost jawe,—spreading on both sides of his toung, in nomber more than 260 on one side, and as manie on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midst of his mouth;<sup>7</sup> and the rest doe orderlie shorten more and more, both backwards and forwards, from 12 feet to less then 3 ynches in length. His eies are not much bigger then



the eies of an oxe; and his bodie in fashion round, w<sup>th</sup> a very broad-spreading taile, w<sup>ch</sup> is of a tough and solide substance; and, therefore, it is used for to make chopping-blocks, to chop the whale's fatt upon (w<sup>ch</sup> wee call blubber). And of the like

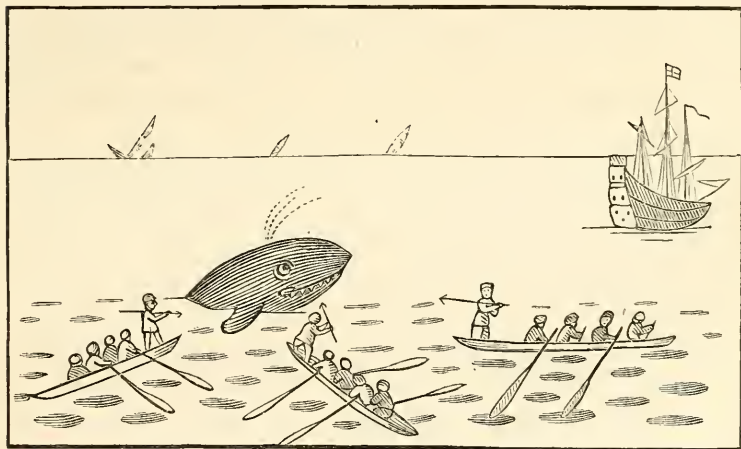
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<sup>7</sup> The description given by Purchas begins as follows: "The whale is a fish, or sea-beast, of a huge bignesse, about sixty-five foot long, and thirty-five foot thicke. His head is a third part of all his bodie's quantitie; his spacious mouth containyng a very great tongue, and all his finnes, which we call whale-finnes. These finnes are fastened or rooted in his vpper chap, and spread ouer his tongue on both sides of his mouth; being in number about two hundred and fiftie on one side, and as many on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midst of his mouth;" &c.

The above extract, and the one given at p. 301, will suffice to show the resemblance between the descriptions of Purchas relating to these subjects, and those of this narrative. The inference appears to be a reasonable one, that, if Fotherby was the author of the notes used by Purchas in compiling his account, he was also the author of this narrative; as the similarity in the two is too great to be accidental. Purchas has not improved the accuracy of the statement by altering the figures.

matter are also his two swimming finnes, w<sup>ch</sup> serue, at some times, for the same vse.

The whale comes often aboue water, and will cōmonlie spowte 8 or 9 times before he goe under againe; by w<sup>ch</sup> spowteing of water, wee maie discerne him when he is 2 or 3 leagues distant from vs. When he enters into the sounds, our whal-killers doe presentlie sallie forth to meet him, either from our ships, or els from some other place more conuenient for that purpose, where to expect him; makeing very speedie waie towards him w<sup>th</sup> their shallops. But most cōmonlie, before they come neare him, he will be gon downe vnder water, and continue perhaps a good while er he rise againe; so that



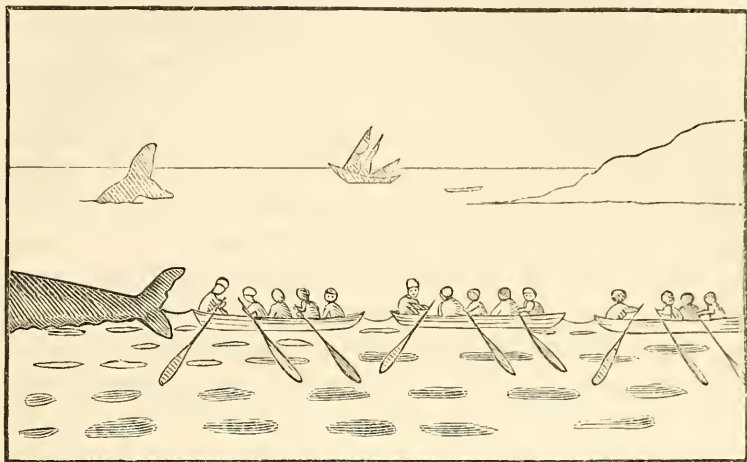
sometimes they rowe past him: and therefore are they alwaies very circumspect, lookeing if they can discerne his waie under the water (w<sup>ch</sup> they call his wake), or els see him further of by his spowteing, being risen. Then, comeing neare him, they rowe resolutelie towards him, as though they intended to force the shallop upon him. But, so soone as they come within stroak of him, the harponier (who stands up readie, in the head of the boat) darts his harping-iron at him out of both his hands; wherwith the whale being stricken, he presentlie



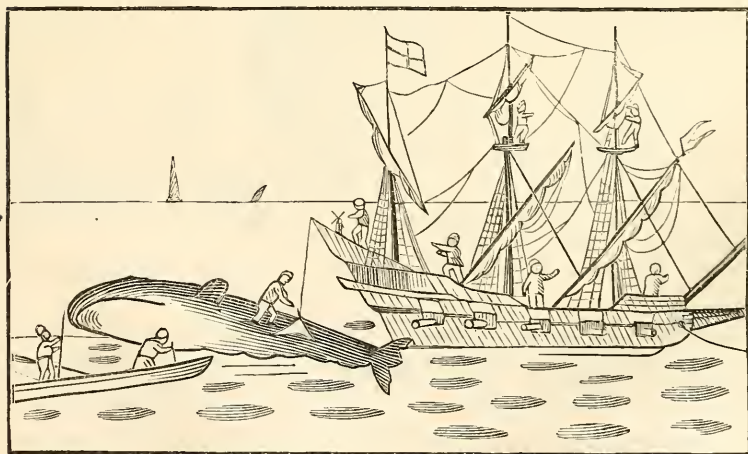
discends to the bottom of the water: and therefore the men in the shallop doe weire out 40, 50, or 60 fathomes of rope, yea, sometimes 100, or more, according as the depth requir-eth. For, upon the sockett of the harping-iron, ther is made fast a rope, w<sup>ch</sup> lies orderlie coiled up in the sterne of the boat, w<sup>ch</sup>, I saie, they doe weire forth untill they perceauē him to be riseing againe; and then they haile in some of it, both to giue him the lesse scope, and also that it maie be the stronger, being shorter. For, when he riseth from the bottome, he comes not directlie up aboue the water, but swimmes awaie w<sup>th</sup> an uncontrowled force and swiftnes; hurrying the shallop after him, w<sup>th</sup> hir head so close drawen downe to the water, that shee seemes euer readie to be hailed under it. When he hath thus drawen hir perhaps a mile or more, — w<sup>ch</sup> is done in a very short time, considering her swiftnes, — then will he come spowteing aboue the water; and the men rowe up to him, and strike him w<sup>th</sup> long launces, w<sup>ch</sup> are made purposelie for that vse. In lanceing of the whale, they strike him as neare his swimming finne, and as lowe under water as they can conuenientlie, to pearce into his intralls. But, when he is wounded, he is like to wrest the launce out of the striker's hand; so that sometimes two men are faine to pluck it out, although but one man did easilie thrust it in. And nowe will he frisk and strike w<sup>th</sup> his taile verie forceable; sometimes hitting the shallop, and splitting hir asunder; sometimes also mailhmeing or killing some of the men. And, for that cause, ther is alwaies either two or 3 shallops about the killing of one whale, that the one of them maie relieue and take in the men out of another, being splitt. When he hath receaued his deadlie wound, then he casteth forth blood where formerlie he spowted water; and, before he dies, he will sometimes drawe the shallops 3 or 4 miles from the place where he was first stricken w<sup>th</sup> the harping-iron. When he is dyeing, he most comōnlie tourneth his bellie vppermost: and then doe the men fasten a rope, or small hauser, to the hinder



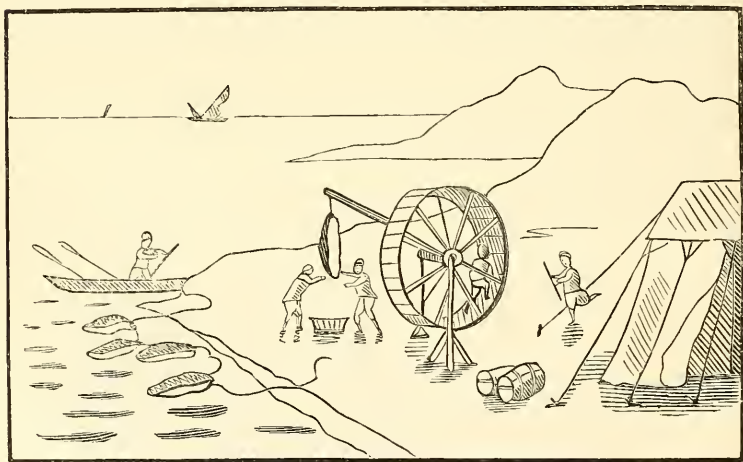
parte of his bodie, and, w<sup>th</sup> their shallops (made fast, one to another), they towe him to the ships, w<sup>th</sup> his taile foremost;



and then they fasten him to the sterne of some ship apointed for that purpose, where he is cutt up in manner as followeth: Two or three men come in a boate, or shallop, to the side of the whale; one man holdeing the boat close to the whale w<sup>th</sup> a boat-hook, and another—who stands either in the boat or



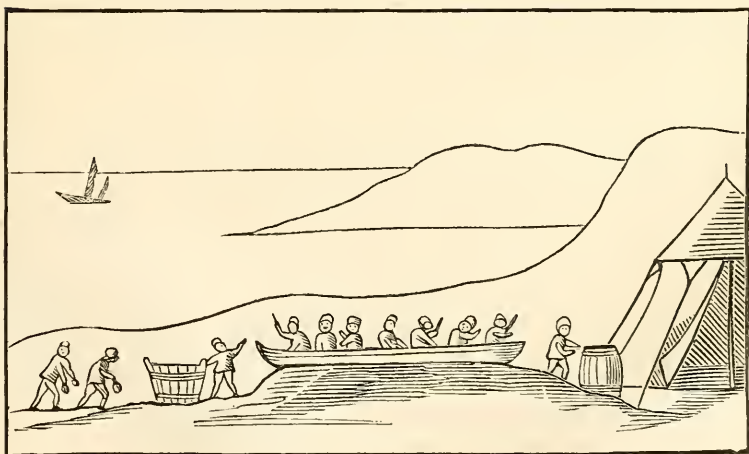
upon the whale — cutts and scores the fatt, w<sup>ch</sup> we call blubber, in square-like peices, 3 or 4 feet long, w<sup>th</sup> a great cutting-knife. Then, to raise it from the flesh, ther is a crab, or capstowe, sett purposely upon the poop of the ship, from whence ther discends a rope, with an iron hook in the end of it; and this hook is made to take fast hould of a peice of the fatt, or blubber: and as, by tourning the capstowe, it is raised and lifted up, the cutter, w<sup>th</sup> his long knife, looseth it from the flesh, euen as if the larde of a swine were, by peece and peece, to be cutt off from the leane. When it is in this manner cleane cutt off, then doe they lower the capstowe, and lett it downe to float upon the water, makeing a hole in some side or corner of it, wherby they fasten it upon a rope. And so they proceed to cutt off more peeces; makeing fast together 10 or twelve of them at once, to be towed ashoare at the sterne of a boat, or shallop. Theise peices, being brought to



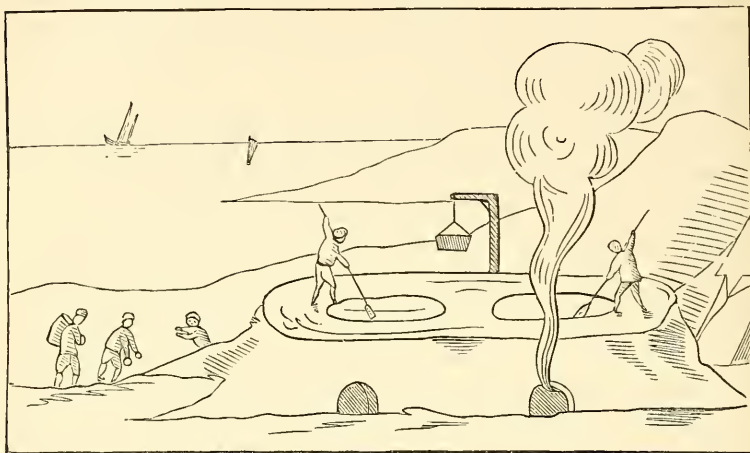
the shoare-side, are, by one and one, drawen upon the shoare by the helpe of a high crane ther placed; and at length are hoised up from the ground ouer a vessell, w<sup>ch</sup> is sett to receaue the oile that runnes from it as it is cutt into smaller

peices: for, whilst it hangeth thus in the crane, two men doe cutt it into little peices about a foot long and half a foot thick, and putt them into the foresaid vessel; from w<sup>ch</sup> it is carried to the *choppers* by two boies, who, w<sup>th</sup> little flesh-hooks, take in ech hand a peice, and so conveie it into tubbs, or ould casks, w<sup>ch</sup> stand behinde the *choppers*; out of w<sup>ch</sup> tubbs it is taken againe, and is laid for them, as they are readie to vse it, upon the same board they stand on.

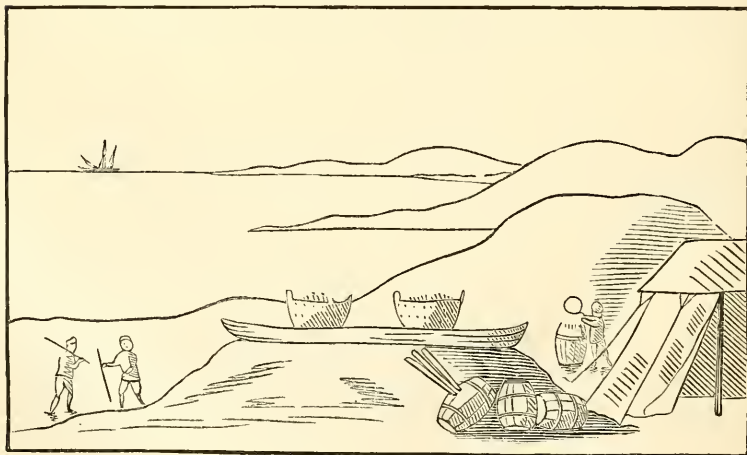
The *choppers* stand at the side of a shallop, w<sup>ch</sup> is raised from the ground, and sett vp of an equall height w<sup>th</sup> the coppers, and stands about two yards distant from the founaces. Then a fir-deale is laid alongst the one side of the shallop, within-board; and upon it doe they sett their chopping-blocks, w<sup>ch</sup> are made of the whale's taile, or els of his swimming-finne. Nowe the blubber is laid readie for them by some apointed for that purpose, as before is sett downe, in such small peices as the boies doe bring from the crane. And so they take it up w<sup>th</sup> little hand-hooks, laieing it upon their blocks; where, w<sup>th</sup> chopping-kniues, they chop it into verye small peices, about an ynch and a halfe square. Then, w<sup>th</sup> a short thing of wood, made in fashion like a cole-rake, they put



the chopt blubber off from the block downe into the shallop ; out of the w<sup>ch</sup> it is taken againe w<sup>th</sup> a copper ladle, and filled into a great tubb, w<sup>ch</sup> hangs upon the arme of a gibbet that is made to tourne to and againe between the blubber-boat and



the coppers. This tubb containeth as much blubber as will serue one of the coppers at one boiling ; and therefore, so soon as it is emptied, it is presentlie filled againe, that it maie be

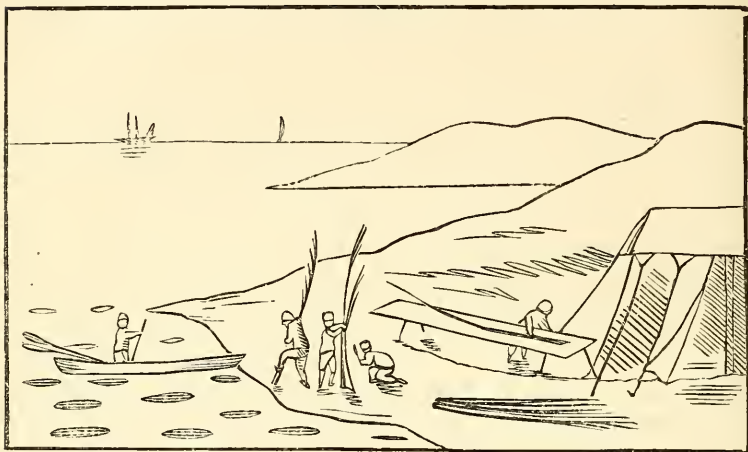


readie to be putt into the copper when the frittires are taken out. Theise frittires (as wee call them) are the small peices of chopt blubber, w<sup>ch</sup>, when the oile is sufficientlie boiled, will look browne, as if they were fried; and they are taken out of the coppers, together w<sup>th</sup> some of the oile, by copper ladles, and put into a wicker basket that stands ouer another shallop w<sup>ch</sup> is placed on the other side of the furnaces, and serues as a cooler to receaue the oile being drayned thorowe the said basketts. And this shallop, because it receaues the oile hott out of the two coppers, is kept continuallie half full of water; w<sup>ch</sup> is not onelie a meanes to coole the oile before it runnes into cask, but also to clense it from soot and drosse w<sup>ch</sup> discends to the bottome of the boat. And out of this shallop the oile runneth into a long trough, or gutter, of wood, and therby is conveyed into butts and hogsheads; w<sup>ch</sup>, being filled, are bung'd vp, marked, and rowl'd by, and others sett in their place. Then is the bung taken out againe, that the oile maie coole; for notwithstanding ye shallop is half full of water, yet, the coppers being continuallie plied, the oile keeps very hott in the boat, and runs also hott into the cask, w<sup>ch</sup> sometimes is an occasion of great leakage. Now concerning the finnes.

When the whale lies floateing at the sterne of the ship, where he is cutt up, they cut of his head, containing his tounge and his finnes, comonlie called *whalbone*; and by a boat, or shallop, they towe it so neare the shoare as it can come, and ther lett it lie till the water flowe againe: for, at high waters, it is drawen further and further upon the shoare by crabs and capstowes ther placed for that purpose, untill, at a lowe water, men maie come to cutt out the finnes; w<sup>ch</sup> thing they doe w<sup>th</sup> hatchetts, by 5 or 6 finnes at once. And theise are trailed further vp from the shoare-side, and then are seuered ech one from another w<sup>th</sup> hatchetts, and by one, at once, are laid upon a fir-deale, or other board, raised up a convenient height for a man to stand at, who scrapeth off the



white pithie substance that is upon the roots, or great ends, of the finnes, w<sup>th</sup> such scraping-irons as coopers use; being instruments very fitting for that purpose. Then are they

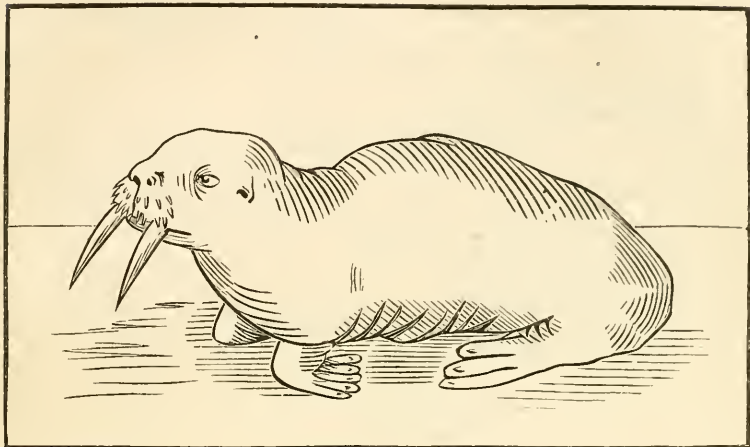


rubbed in the sand, to clense them from grease w<sup>ch</sup> they receaue when the heads are brought to the shoare-side: for, whilst the whale is in cutting up, his head is under the water, and his finnes remaine cleane; but, being brought neare the shoare and grounded, then doth the grease cleaue vnto them at the ebbing or falling of the water, w<sup>ch</sup> is alwaies fattie w<sup>th</sup> blubber that floats vpon it continuallie. When the finnes are thus made cleane, they are sorted into 5 seuerall kindes, and are made up into bundells of 50, contayneing of ech sorte 10 finnes. These bundles are bound up w<sup>th</sup> coards; and vpon ech of them ther is tied a stick, whereon is written some number, and the companie's mark sett: and so they are made readie to be shipped.

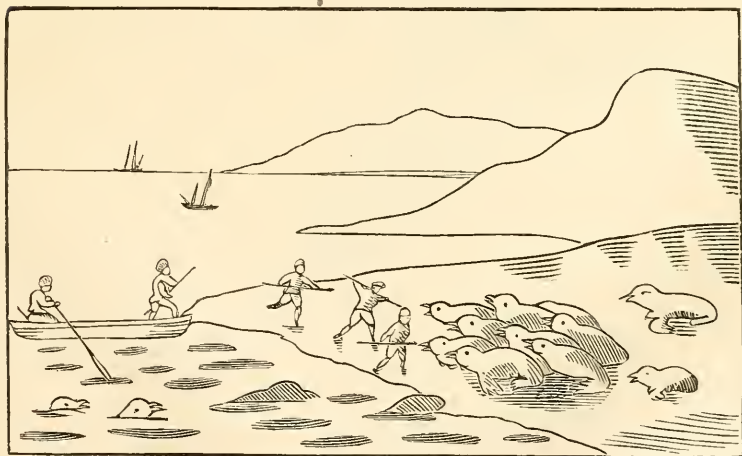
Nowe a little concerning the *sea-morse* (of manie called the *sea-horse*); w<sup>ch</sup>, indeed, maie seeme to be rather a beast then a fish, and partakes both of the sea and the land. He is, in



quantitie, about the bignesse of an oxe; and his shape and proportion is best sett forth by the figure followeing: —



Theise morses use to goe ashoare vpon some beach or pointe of lowe land, where the snowe doth soonest melt or dissolve; and ther will they lie upon the sand, close together, grunteing much like hoggs, and sometimes creeping and tum-



bleing one ouer another. They neuer goe farre vp from the water-side: and therfore the men that goe to kill them strike theise first w<sup>ch</sup> are next the water, that their dead bodies maie be a hinderance to barre the rest from escapeing; for they all make towards the water, without anie feare either of man or weapon that opposeth them.

Theise also are killed w<sup>th</sup> launces w<sup>ch</sup> are verie broad-headed, to the end that they maie make the more mortall wound for the speedie killing of them, because they are so neare the water, and also manie in number; for, in some places, they will lie 400 or 500 morses all together.

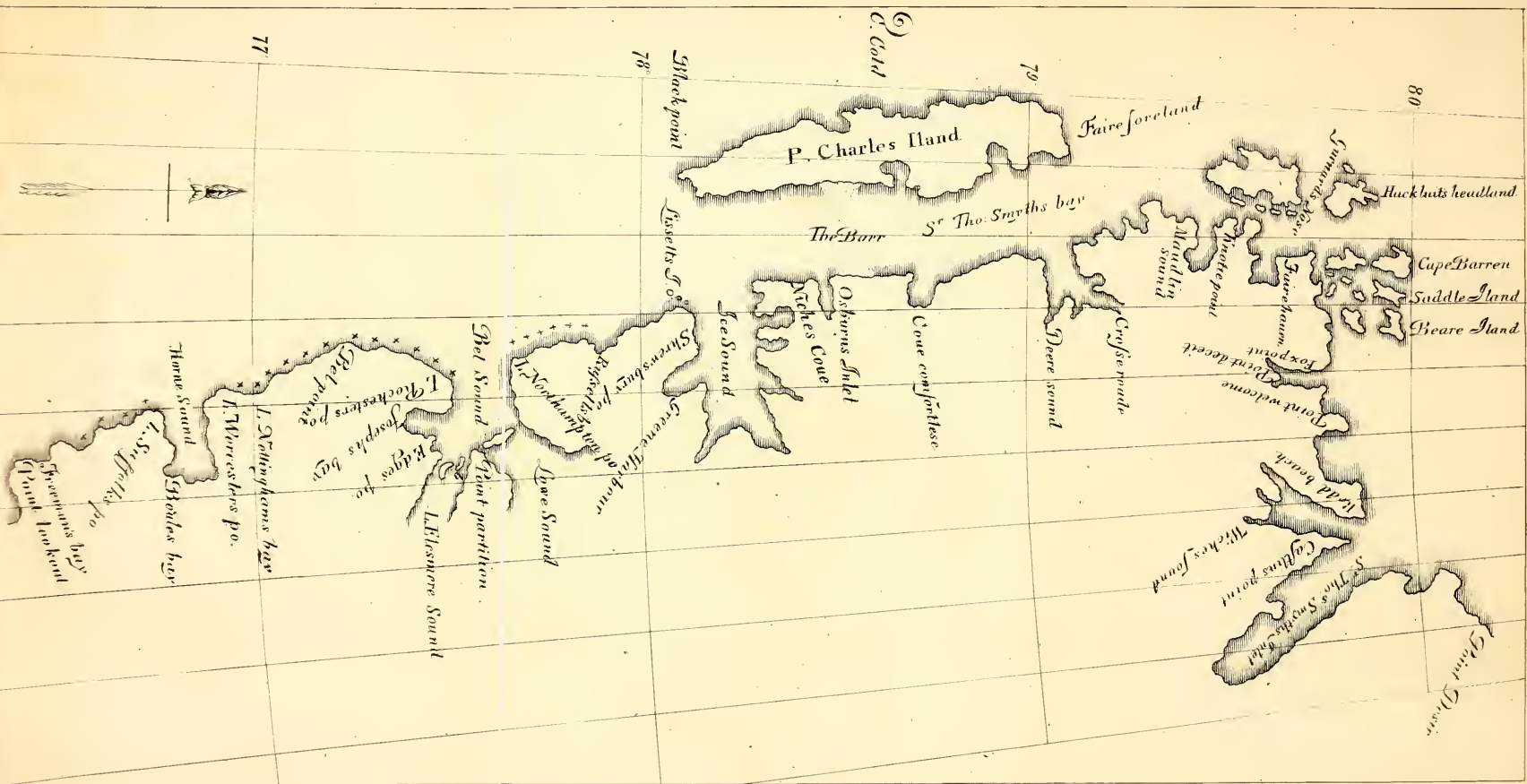
This sea-beast being dead, his teeth are taken out of his upper jawe; and his skin, or hide, is fleyed of him, first on the one side; and his fat or blubber, w<sup>ch</sup> lies next to his skinne aboue his flesh, is also taken off: and then is his other side tourned vp, and ye like againe done w<sup>th</sup> it. Then is the blubber put into cask, and carried to the choppers; and by them it is chopped, and put into the coppers; and ther it is tryed, and reduced to oile.



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## APPENDIX.



## A P P E N D I X.

A. — PAGE 33.

### LIFE OF SIR RALPH LANE.

BY EDWARD E. HALE, A.M.,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

RALPH LANE, Governor of the first English Colony in North America, was born about the year 1530, in Northamptonshire, in England.

The family to which he belonged may be traced far back in the histories of Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. He was second son of Sir Ralph Lane of Orlingbury, and of Maud Parre, daughter of William Lord Parre, otherwise known as the Lord of Horton. This nobleman was the uncle of Katherine Parre, who became Queen of England while her second cousin, the subject of this memoir, — the first American governor, — was yet a boy.

His eldest brother was named Robert, and, on the death of their father in 1540, inherited his title. In 1557, seventeen years after the death of Sir Ralph Lane, "Mr. Ralph Lane" represented Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, in the last Parliament of Queen Mary. It is hard to suppose that there was any other

Ralph Lane, in that neighborhood, who should have escaped the attention of the county historians. But our Ralph Lane, second son of Sir Ralph, never alludes to parliamentary service in any of his papers which I have read. The same person represented Higham Ferrers in the first Parliament of Elizabeth, chosen in 1559; and "Ralph Lane," whom I suppose to be the same, represented Northampton in Elizabeth's second Parliament, chosen in 1562, and dissolved by the queen in 1566, with a rebuke for attending to matters with which it was not concerned. In the Journals of the House of Commons, in these Parliaments, his name nowhere appears as an actor or speaker.

Ralph Lane, afterwards Governor of Virginia, says, in two of his letters, that he entered the queen's service in 1563.<sup>1</sup> I do not believe that this alludes to any parliamentary service, but suppose that he then entered some service at court. It is just possible that his military career then began, and that, in that year, he served in France, in the scanty force which Elizabeth sent to the relief of the Protestants. The earliest point in his career, of which I can speak with certainty, is his service as a soldier against the "rebel Earls" of Northumberland and Westmoreland. This service is recorded by Strype,<sup>2</sup> who calls Lane "a great soldier in these times, that had served the queen against the rebels in the north, and of considerable abilities elsewhere, and

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<sup>1</sup> "Having served her majesty these twenty years" (Manuscript Letter to Burleigh, July 9, 1583; Lansdowne Manuscripts, British Museum); and in a letter of April 4, 1584, "at the end of twenty years' service about her majesty's person."

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiastical Annals, chap. xxxiii. book i., anno 1574.

of reputation with the Lord Treasurer [Burleigh], and Earl of Leicester."

The rebellion spoken of was that of 1569. The two earls raised their standard of revolt on the 15th of November. Sussex, Scroop, and Drury, Queen Elizabeth's commanders opposed to them, broke their force, and, through the winter, spring, and summer, made various raids into Scotland by way of suppressing this rebellion. "They took," says Mr. Wright,<sup>3</sup> "a severe, indeed too severe, a revenge;" burning and destroying many villages and castles. Many original letters and despatches describing this campaign will be found in Wright's "Elizabeth;" in the first part of the "Cabala;"<sup>4</sup> and in Sadlier's "State Papers," edited by Scott, which devotes to it most of a volume. In these documents, a large number of the subordinate officers in the little armies are named. In Sadlier's accounts is a pay-list of all as low as the grade of captain; but Lane was not of sufficient distinction or rank to be mentioned among them.

Not long after this, we find Lane at court, in the position of one of the equerries of the queen. The original service of an equerry was the attending the sovereign on horseback when he rode abroad. Queen Elizabeth's equerries fulfilled this office in this original sense. He was, as it seems from a letter which I shall quote below, an equerry of "Leicester's band."

In this capacity he received a commission from the queen to search certain ships of Brittany, reported to

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<sup>3</sup> Wright's Queen Elizabeth and her Times.

<sup>4</sup> From p. 163 to p. 167.



be laden with unlawful goods, and to seize the same.<sup>5</sup> This is the first of a series of court jobs, not of the highest character, in connection with which Lane appears, — now as suitor, now as agent. The next year, he addresses a memorial, — of which a part, in his own writing, is preserved, — proposing a plan for keeping soldiers in readiness for the East.<sup>6</sup> At one of the entertainments given to the Duke de Montmorenci when he came to England, in 1572, “to ratify the league between France and England,” Lane is named among those who “met at barriers at Whitehall” on the 14th of June.<sup>7</sup>

In 1573, we have a letter from him to Leicester on naval affairs,<sup>8</sup> and two letters to Burleigh about a Capt. Byngam, for whom he begs a pension.<sup>9</sup> On the 31st of August, when the queen visited Sandwich, his name appears. After an address from the town orator, “he presented her with a cup of gold of cli; which Thomas Gylbart, son of the mayor aforesaid, received from Mrs. Spicer; and he gave it to the footman, of whom her majesty received it, and so delivered it to Mr. Rauffe Lane, one of the gentlemen equerries, who carried it.”<sup>1</sup>

I examined these several manuscripts in the British Museum and in the State-paper Office, in December,

<sup>5</sup> The commission is in the Domestic State Papers in the English State-paper Office, vol. lxxx. It is in Lane's own handwriting, corrected by another hand.

<sup>6</sup> Domestic State Papers, vol. lxxxviii. The date is June 4, 1572.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, with a reference to Cotton Manuscripts. Titus, E. x. (British Museum).

<sup>8</sup> Cotton Manuscripts, 71. Caligula, E. vi. (162).

<sup>9</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. xviii. 2. State Papers, vol. xcii. 42.

<sup>1</sup> Nichols's Progresses.

1859. There is little of historical interest in them. Like all that I have seen of Lane's somewhat voluminous correspondence, they exhibit a wordy habit, and a disposition to put himself forward; most of the earlier papers, indeed, being applications for service. But there is a practical vein in several of them, which implies that he was a more active soldier than most of the courtiers by whom he was surrounded, and perhaps had a feeling of contempt for the military arrangements of Elizabeth's parsimonious policy.

In 1574, he entered upon a plan for gathering a regiment of one or two thousand men, to be under his own command, whose service he offered to the Spanish ambassador, "Anthony Guerasse;"<sup>2</sup> proposing that they should be employed by Philip II., the King of Spain, in the army he was raising against the Turks. The ambassador received the offer favorably, making good promises if Queen Elizabeth's consent could be gained. Lane then obtained the queen's consent by "honorable friends;" probably Burleigh and Leicester. She gave it, by letters dated Jan. 15, 1574-5, to Requesens, the Spanish commendator in Flanders, signifying her "liking unto the service." Leicester, however, advised Lane to be cautious in his promises, but favored him so far as to write to Dr. Wylson, the queen's agent in Flanders, "that the queen's majesty, at suit of *my very friend* Rafe Lane, her servant, was prepared to grant him license, with certain English soldiers," to

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<sup>2</sup> So named in Strype, — Annals, chap. xxxiii., where is an account at length of the transaction.

serve as proposed. The letter closed by saying, "that though the matter moved him [Leicester] to like well hereof, yet the person also made him earnest for him; and so much the rather, for that, being an equerry, he was (as Wylson knew) of his band." This letter was written the 19th of January. Strype gives, apparently, the whole contents of it. It is interesting to us simply as showing, that, in the personal relations and intrigues of that reign, Lane was then the friend of Leicester.

Lane's own account of this transaction is in these words:—

"First drawn on by mine own particular occurrences, having thought of sundry employments of myself by her majesty's license for certain years, reason, and mine own affection before all others, recommended unto me a Levant service against the Turk, if the same from hence might by her majesty be favored, and of the King of Spain well entertained. Whereupon I made Anthony Guerasse to be asked his opinion, if a bulche of Englishmen, being of service for sea or land, or both, were offered unto the king his master from hence, whether the same would be well accepted with pay or not. His answer was directly, that, if the same might be with her majesty's favor, he knew assuredly that they should not only be largely entertained for their payes, but also otherwise most honorably used, and most heartily welcomed to the king; yea, and would open a greater gate of kindness between these two great princes, her majesty and Spain, than yet there has been any likelihood of.

"Hereupon in summer I entred my *secret* unto her majesty, for two years' leave to seek my own aventure by service; which in the end obtained by honorable friends. By the same means, I obtained her majesty's letters of the 15th of January, 1574, unto the *commendador*, testifying her ma-

jesty's desired liking unto the service intended; and assured, that my offers sent by the bearer of her said majesty's letters, with the conditions being accepted by the said *commendador*, the same should on my part with all sincerity be performed.

"And thus much until the nineteenth day of January, 1574 [1575, N.S.]. There resteth now for me to make my offers of the service, with the conditions, to the *commendador*; which offers will, of his part, be either refused or accepted. If refused, then the matter is at an end, and her majesty's uttered good conceipt of me in this resteth without spot or blemish, &c.; but, if the *commendador* do accept the conditions, then shall I be as able as willing, and both able and willing, to perform the same."

The conditions were, "exemption of his regiment from *inquisition*; authority from the king of absolute punishment of all offences committed within the regiment; authority also to banish all our English rebels or fugitives [from the northern rebellion] out of the fellowship of his regiment; also for pay and impress; lastly, for return in security of the same." The last clause appears to mean, that Lane claimed permission to abandon the Spanish service if these conditions were not fulfilled.

An autograph letter of Lane's which I examined, now among the Lansdowne Manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> gives some further details. It shows that the queen gave him this permission, for "a trial of the amendment of his hard, past fortunes," to serve against the common enemy of Christendom. The whole tone of the letter shows that he was reduced in means, and was eager to obtain some

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<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. xix. 80.

remunerative position. But, in a long parenthesis, he confesses that her majesty's late most gracious grant of sixty pounds a year, in reversion, "if I may be so happy as to enjoy the most benefit thereof, will give me very good mean to my great credit, and good sum in time to leave behind me satisfied the most important part of my credit" (that is to say, debts); but he goes on to intimate that this conditional grant would be of no other service to himself. The plan, however, fell through; as, indeed, might have been expected from its character.

It appears that a rumor was spread that Lane meant to serve against the Prince of Orange; which rumor was communicated to him by Atye, Leicester's secretary, one of his friends. The matter was undecided for six months after Lane wrote his memoir quoted above. Strype informs us that he then wrote again to Burleigh, urging despatch. But here the little scheme fades from history. There is enough detail to show that Lane was then in the subordinate service of an equerry at court, seeking to improve his fortunes by military adventure under a foreign prince. Leicester, so far his patron as to introduce him as "my very friend," did not look very cordially at the plan; but was ready, if he could, to help Lane forward in it. It was certainly, as Strype intimates, a delicate matter for a Protestant to be mixed up in. It was at the very moment when the commander Requesens was pressing the first siege of Leyden. The English Government was thought by the Dutch cold towards them; and, in the summer of 1574, an Englishman, arrested in Holland as employed to assas-

sinate the Prince of Orange, had declared, that, with Queen Elizabeth's consent, he had undertaken to perform the same office for Count John, the prince's brother. "This story," says Mr. Motley, "was incredible, so far as the queen was implicated; but its invention indicated the estimate entertained, in general, of her sentiments towards the Netherlands." At such a time it was that Ralph Lane approached the commendator with an offer to serve King Philip II., not against the Prince of Orange indeed, but against the Turk. He would have served under Don John, whose reputation for chivalry had been spread "throughout the world" by his brilliant success, two years before, at Lepanto.

We lose sight of Lane, after this project, till 1576, when he addressed two papers to some member of the government, which are thus entered in the Lansdowne Catalogue:—

"The suit of Mr. Ralph Lane concerning Bowyers, Archers, &c. 1576."<sup>4</sup>

"A Dissertation on Military Affairs, by Mr. Ralph Lane. 1576."<sup>5</sup>

The same year, June 15, he received "a patent for searching and seizing upon all gold, silver, bullion, plate, and jewels unlawfully transported, or intended to be transported, out of this realm."<sup>6</sup>

It seems to be to some difficulty in this commission that the letter alludes, which is thus described:—

<sup>4</sup> Lansdowne Catalogue, vol. xxii. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., vol. xxiv. 30.

<sup>6</sup> One copy in the Harleian Manuscripts, Num. 698, 143; another in the State-paper Office.



Sept. 9, 1576.—“Ralph Lane to Burghley. Requests that his case may be heard at London, considering the heavy charges for the expenses of the witnesses in the country. Prays that the offenders of Lyme, who beat the pursuivants and threw them overboard, may be punished.”<sup>7</sup>

He was still at court in 1579. Of that year, we have two letters of his to Burleigh,—the first, a new scheme for improving the fortifications;<sup>8</sup> the second, a plan “to encounter the Spaniards in Ireland, for which he offers his service, or else to have the queen’s letters in his particular favor to the kings of Fez and Algiers.”<sup>9</sup> In the first of these letters, there is nothing of a personal character. The second seems to imply that the efforts he had been making to acquit himself as a courtier had not very well satisfied him. He says, that, if the queen cannot employ him against the Spaniards (under Fitzmaurice in Ireland), he must beg Burleigh to get letters for him to the kings of Fez and Algiers. “For, in truth, sir (as to my most honorable friend I confess it), my ability doth so fail me as yet, that I am, for the present, far more fit for a camp than for a court, and especially for so gallant a court as this is like to be if Monseigneur do come.” He alludes to the expected arrival of the Duke of Anjou.

I have found none of his letters of 1580. In March, 1581 (1580, O.S.), he “lays before Lord Burghley a scheme either for the queen’s guarding herself against the Spaniard, or assisting Don Antonio with the same

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<sup>7</sup> State-paper Office (Domestic), vol. cix.

<sup>8</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. xxix. 56. The date is Jan. 26.

<sup>9</sup> State-paper Office (Domestic), vol. cxxxi., Aug. 16.

levy of soldiers raised with pretence for the service of Ireland.”<sup>1</sup> His zeal against “the Spaniard” is farther evinced the same year, by a letter still preserved, dated Oct. 24, 1581, to Mr. Herle, “desiring him to recommend to the Prince of Orange the raising of a new regiment from England.” This letter was written at Richmond.<sup>2</sup> I cannot find that any action followed upon it, such as Lane desired. Among the Irish papers in the State-paper Office, however, Lane’s name now appears for the first time. On the 8th of January, 1582–3,<sup>3</sup> the Earl of Ormond wrote to Walsingham with some reference to the employment of Lane in Ireland in the making of some fortifications. Lane was still in England, however, poor and unemployed, on the 9th of July of that year. On that date, he wrote to Burleigh,<sup>4</sup> asking to be empowered to carry out the alien laws, and to have the benefit of the penalties, paying a part thereof to the queen; and the letter closes by asking for this service, or any thing else best pleasing to her majesty, in accordance to her majesty’s most princely word sent to him more than a year before, “in the time of my hurt.” He intimates that such a position may “countervail, in some gracious measure, the consequence of my case; having served her majesty these twenty years; dispensed, as hath been often showed, £1,200; spent

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<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. xxxi. p. 43. Don Antonio, Grand Prior of Crato, was one of the candidates for the succession to the throne of Portugal. He applied for help to his kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth; but she refused him at that time. In 1589, an expedition was sent out, which failed entirely.

<sup>2</sup> Cottonian Manuscripts, Galba, C., vol. vii. 56 (141).

<sup>3</sup> State-paper Office, Irish Manuscripts at date. Mr. H. C. Hamilton’s admirable Calendar of these papers is now in press.

<sup>4</sup> Lansdowne’s Manuscripts, British Museum, vol. xxxix. 27.

my patrimony; bruised my limbs; and yet, nevertheless, at this day not worth one groat, by her majesty's gift, towards a living." This shows that the gift in reversion never fell in. It appears that the queen had referred him to Burleigh; and, in closing this letter to Burleigh, he says he had no other hopes but such as he has in him.

It may have been this pathetic letter which obtained for Lane an appointment, about this time, as Commander of the South-Sea Castle, with a salary of two shillings a day; or very probably it led Burleigh — always, it would appear, his good friend — to appoint him to duty in Ireland. He was in that country in January following, and was writing in a much more commanding tone. On the 31st of January, 1583-4,<sup>5</sup> he offers to the queen a service of great importance, "and approved by the Lord-Deputy." This proposal encloses offers of service "touching the delivery of the English pale from the arrogance of the Moors," one of the Irish septs, "to be performed by James Moore, who undertakes to draw the whole sept into any part of Munster now uninhabited and fallen to her majesty." On the 20th of February, and on the 12th of March, we have two memorials from him to the Privy Council regarding the "colonelship" of Kerry, Clanmorris, and Desmond, and the guard of those districts. There is a private letter to Burleigh of the last date, and another of the 4th of April, in which he says, that, "at the end of his twenty years' service about her majesty's

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<sup>5</sup> State-paper Office; Irish Papers.

person," he has chosen to employ himself in her desolate kingdom of Ireland; and encloses two more petitions, of much the same tenor as the earlier ones of the same year.

But at the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, his American expedition was determined on; for, on the 8th of February, 1584-5, we have the warrant of the queen at Greenwich to Perrot, her deputy in Ireland, and Wallop, that Lane's government of Kerry and Clanmorris is to be supplied by substitute, "in consideration of his ready undertaking the voyage to Virginia for Sir Walter Raleigh at her majesty's commandment."

At this date, therefore, he had been invited by Raleigh to take command of the expedition in America, and had accepted the appointment. Although this is said to have been at the queen's command, he must have had some right to refuse; for his appointment is delegated to a substitute of his own naming, in consideration of his "ready undertaking."

The reader may well say, that, in examining these wordy documents, — most of them in Lane's own very poor handwriting, — I have given them much more attention than they proved to deserve. I found it necessary, however, in determining the character of the man, who, starting for America with one of the best equipped colonies that was ever sent here, failed so lamentably to accomplish the wishes of those who sent him. From two of these letters, the reader has learned that Lane had been, since 1563, in the queen's service; since 1564, near her person; since 1569, at

the least, he had been a soldier of fortune at the court, eager for occupation. He is willing to serve Queen Elizabeth; or, out of her domains, King Philip or Don John, on the one hand; or, on the other, the Prince of Orange or the kings of Fez or of Algiers against them. It would not be fair, however, to say that this indiscriminate readiness for service ranked him in quite as low a grade as that of the "filibuster" of our time. The conflicting policies of Islamism, Romanism, and Protestantism, in that age, as in this, made strange allies; and clearly there were reasons in 1579 to enlist an English soldier under the banners of "Fez and Algiers" against the Spaniard, which did not occur to the same man when he volunteered in 1573 to serve the chivalrous Don John against the Turk. Ralph Lane was a soldier. The policy of Queen Elizabeth gave no field for military talent or ambition at home; and, as the custom of his time was, he sought foreign service.

Most of the letters are those of a suppliant, and a very poor suppliant. They are written in the wordy courtier style of the day. But there often springs to light in them a glimpse of good sense, which shows, as Lane's later life showed, that he was a better soldier — in particular, a better disciplinarian — than he was courtier.

Having been appointed to be the commander of Raleigh's Colony at least as early as February, 1584-5, he readily undertook that commission. His previous stay in Ireland, and Raleigh's interest there, account for some distinct Irish names in the list of settlers. There are so many of these, with a colonel of the Irish esta-

blishment at their head, that we may safely say, that, with the first English Colony to this country, the "Irish exodus" began.<sup>6</sup>

In Dr. Hawks's elaborate "History of North Carolina" are collected the full narratives published, at the return of the expedition, of its successes and its failures. To illustrate the letters to which this Memoir is an appendix, I have given a brief sketch of the history of his American administration.

Lane had scarcely returned to England, when he was obliged to answer to a complaint made, that he and his nephew, Captain Robert Lane, who was his deputy, had neglected the charge of Southesaye Castle in Southamp-tonshire, now known as Southsea Castle. They answered the "information" in which this complaint was made, in a tone sufficiently haughty. "First, as for Ralph Lane, in truth, not coming thither at all; being not unknown unto your lordships from the first day of his captainship of that place, appointed unto him immediately after the camp at Westilburie, he hath, besides his continual attendance here at court, been used in some service of her majesty abroad, the same of some note and urgency; sufficient enough to disable him, upon two shillings a day wages, to give his personal attendance upon such a place."<sup>7</sup>

Although he was permitted to name a substitute in his Irish command, with the intention, apparently, that

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<sup>6</sup> Darby Glande, Edward Nugen, John Gostigo, Edward Kelley, Dennis Barnes, Richard Ireland, were among the settlers; all of them Irishmen, if we may guess from their names. In Lane's narrative, he speaks of *Nugent* as an Irishman, and of "mine Irish boy." The varied spelling is that of the original.

<sup>7</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. xlviii.



he should take a part of its profits, even in his absence, he did not take it again on his return. As early as May 21 in the year he sailed for America, there is a letter from Wallop, in Ireland, to Burleigh, intimating that "Kerry is too large for Mr. Lane." I am disposed to think, that, on his return, he remained at court. The preparations for the Spanish Armada began then to attract attention, and Lane deserved to be considered among those soldiers who had best experience in the queen's councils. On the 27th of November, 1587, he was present at a special council of war held to concert the measures of defence. It does not appear to have held any subsequent meetings. The members, as reported in Sir William Monson's "Naval Tracts," where the report of the council is published, were —

The Lord Gray.<sup>8</sup>  
 Sir Francis Knowles,<sup>9</sup>  
*Treasurer of the Household.*  
 Sir Thomas Laken.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sir Walter Raleigh.

Sir Richard Greenville.  
 Sir Thomas Norris.<sup>2</sup>  
 Sir Richard Bingham.  
 Sir Roger Williams.  
*Ralph Lane, Esq.*

It will be observed that Lane is the only person among these military men who has not the rank of knight. This is a distinguished testimony to his reputation as a soldier. He does not appear among either sea or land commanders, of whatever rank, in the defence of England against the Armada. On the 14th of February, 1587-8, he laid before Burleigh a project for raising troops of horse. In his letter en-

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<sup>8</sup> Lord Grey de Wilton, who had till lately been Deputy of Ireland.

<sup>9</sup> Sir Francis Knolles.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Leighton.

<sup>2</sup> Brother to Sir John Norris.

closing this project, he speaks of it as "sette down in the tyme of my recoveringe healthe."<sup>3</sup> He served under Drake and Norris, in the unfortunate expedition with which, in 1589, they insulted the coast of Portugal. We find him next in a memorial which he addressed to Burleigh about a silver mine at Penrhyn, of which the existence had been disclosed to him by a "mineral-man" named Hugo Cant, of Prague. He says the man had made half an ounce of silver out of a pound of ore. Lane had offered a share in the mine to the Earl of Essex; "of whom, by mine office, I have my dependency." In a former letter, he had neglected to tell where the mine was, and who the mineral-man was; and he excuses his forgetfulness by pleading "my simplicity, and principally, at this time, some extraordinary grief, both in body and mind, that at the present I feel."<sup>4</sup> The date of this document is Nov. 8, 1589.

On the 26th of December, he addressed a petition to the queen concerning the discipline of an army, the distribution of captives, &c.; most of which is still extant.<sup>5</sup> The edges were burned in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731. In this, and in a subsequent petition to the queen,<sup>6</sup> whose date is lost, he alludes to his service in Portugal. In the last of these petitions, he offers three services to the queen, —

"Being some recollections of his bookish discipline millitaire, added to his experience, first, in his two years' travell,

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<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. iv. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. lxi. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Cottonian Manuscripts, British Museum, Otho E. xi. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. lxxviii. 59.

by sea and lande, under the burninge and temperate clymates of the West Indies; and, next, of his observations in the late Portingall voyage; of all accidents that happened in two several horrible landinges upon the Spaniarde, your majesty's violent enemye, uppon his owne soyle, armed and prepared, at lande and sea, for all resistance; of a battayle fowght with him, and a kingdome marched thorowe, even unto the principall and royall cyttye of the same; with other particulars."

The three proposals are, —

1. To defend Portsmouth and the Island [of Wight].
2. To establish "general musters" through England.
3. For the defence of a sea-coast, with very little expense to the crown.

I find no evidence that these papers attracted attention enough to reward his pains; but, in the year 1591, he was a suitor, almost successful, for "the Ramekins." The Ramekins, or Rammekens, was a castle in Walcheren, held by Queen Elizabeth as security for the repayment of her advances to the government of the Low Countries. Lane made application for the charge of this castle, with some success. It appears from Wylkes's letters to Sir Robert Sidney, the brother of Sir Philip, that the application was pressed so firmly, that the letters-patent conferring the charge upon Lane were drawn out, and presented to the Council. Wylkes was himself directed to write to Sidney, to inform him, that, notwithstanding the disposing of the place was left unto him by his letters-patent, it had been determined to give it to Lane. When Lane's commission was brought before the Council, however, Wylkes opposed

it, and it was rejected; the Lord Chancellor, Hatton, and the Lord Treasurer, Burleigh, opposing it.<sup>7</sup>

Two papers which Lane sent to Burleigh about this time — one on the pay of military officers,<sup>8</sup> and one on the cheapest way of mustering and paying troops<sup>9</sup> — seem to have arrested the attention of this statesman. Before the end of the year 1591, Burleigh had obtained from the queen the grant for Lane of the office of Muster-master-General of Ireland. So far as we can gather, this office corresponded somewhat to the office of Inspector-General of more modern armies; and, from Lane's frequent memorials, we judge that there must have been great necessity for it. Lane thanks Burleigh for the office<sup>1</sup> in a letter, which gives at length his schemes for it. These schemes are developed more at length in subsequent letters.<sup>2</sup> They even include a scheme of a militia, "for mustering and trayning of the countrey with more exactness, and far less charge or trouble to the people or gentlemen, than ever before hath been performed."

His patent as Muster-master for Ireland was issued at once, and is in the State-paper Office. It does not come within the objects of this paper, already too long, to trace his career in Ireland, where he remained till his death. He seems to have been an active officer, as he was certainly a voluminous correspondent. More

<sup>7</sup> See Sir Thomas Wylkes's Letters to Sir Robert Sidney of June 8 and July 11, 1591; Sidney Papers.

<sup>8</sup> Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. lxxv. 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lxxvii. 46.

<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated Nov. 10, 1591. Lansdowne Manuscripts, vol. lxxvii. 75.

<sup>2</sup> The letters of Jan. 7, 1591-2, and Feb. 7, 1591-2, relate to it. They are both in the same volume of the Lansdowne Papers as the last named.

than one hundred of his letters are registered in Mr. Hamilton's calendar of the Irish Papers in the State-paper Office. In the course of this time, he was dangerously wounded; was knighted by Fitz-William, the Lord-Deputy; was charged with some impropriety in office, where he defends himself: and he continues throughout to present different projects for Irish movements, quite in his old soldier-like way.

I print the letter which describes his receiving "the degree" of knighthood, as a specimen of them all; and another memorial of the first American governor. It has some additional interest as a monument of the manners of the time. It appears that Lane might have escaped knighthood by leaving church before the end of the sermon. The letter corrects Oldys's erroneous statement, that Lane was knighted, on his return from America, in honor of his services as governor.<sup>3</sup> Those services deserved no such acknowledgment; and, from Lane's letter, it seems clear that his knighthood was not connected with them.

*Mr. Ralph Lane to L. Burleighe.*<sup>4</sup>

RIGHT HONORABLE MY MOST ESPECIAL GOOD LORDE, —  
 Wheras I have made an inscripcone, at the foote of my booke, of this halfe yeare's charge by my Lorde Deputie, now sente unto your lordshipe, and therin ben boulde to remember youre lordshipe of a projecte by my selfe, sente unto the same before Michaellmas laste paste, of a certeine forme concerninge the musters, and recordes of the musters,

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<sup>3</sup> Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*, published 1736.

<sup>4</sup> State Papers; Ireland. The clerk who made the indorsement did not know that Lane had received the *degree*.



of theise garrissonns, fitt to be induced for the meetinge, with the grosse abuses, that, in the usuall manner, they are at the presente, and ever have ben heartofore, subjecte unto, for reasonns therin, and in my letre to your lordship, sett downe, it maye please your lordshipe to be advertised.

That the scope of that my indevor in the duitie of that my charge of the musters then was, and still is, to make it not onely dificulte, but alsoe impossible, for a clerke of eny bande, upon whose sole oath dependethe at this daye the knowledge of the muster-master of the strengthe and weakenes of everie bande, to deliver a false musters, without beinge discovered: soe that, in my propounded forme, not onelie the clerke, but alsoe sixe severall personnes, in everie hors bande of fiftie, togeather with thirteene chifes of camarades, and, in everie foote bande of 100, eighte severall personnes, with 21 cheifes of camarades, are jontelie and severallie intrested to the privities, bothe of the alterations, entries, and vacancies, that ther can be no fraude undiscovered without a combynacone of the manie unto it; which is impossibile. That [yet] I doe assure my selfe, that, oute of theise garrissonnes, her majesty shall not hearby be advanntaged eny whit in checques, unlesse her majesty shall have cause to sende at eny tyme an army over; for that trulie the bandes are full: and it is the captaine's profitt to keepe them full whileste they lye in garrisonne, for reasonns knowne heare to the worlde. And, when they are in accione of service, the soldiers themselves will muteny uppon theirre officers, when, for theirre full numbers, they finde theirre watches to come oftener aboute then otherwise they should doe. Besides, one whole fourthe part of the standinge garrissonnes hear is exempted from cheque, for cause sett downe in a view of the checques of the same, sente unto your lordshippe before Michaelmas laste, under Mr. Dannett his hande; who now hathe left the place of my deputie clerke of the cheque, lettinge me to knowe that he coulede not discharge the same for lesse then four score poundes per



annum, to be paide him by me quarterlie or halfe yearlie : which I findinge myselfe unable to performe to him and an other, that bothe cann and is bounde to discharge the place. with all sufficiencie, beinge, thoughe a meaner mann, and therfore the more fitter for me, yet bothe a verie good clerke and an auditor, on chambers bred up all his tyme under Sir Henry Walloppe, that hath undertaken it for a great deale lesse, I have deputed the place unto him, humblie beeseechinge your lordshippe's favorable allowannce in this behalfe, and that your lordshipe will be pleased to accepte in good parte the two passed yeares' deputacone by me bestowed upon Mr. Dannett, freely and whollie in regarde of Sir Roberte Cicill and my Ladie Russell, their good lykinge severally signified unto me by themselves at the courte then beinge at Whitehall, that I should soe doe ; whome, as it becomethe me, I was then, and contynuallie wil be, redye to doe service unto, to the uttermoste of my small power.

And, touchinge the reformatione of the musters beinge a service at this tyme especiallie apperteyninge to my care, I woulde be more gladde of the good proceedinge of the same (and that onelie for my duitie' sake) then I finde my selfe eny waye happie in a late degree by my Lorde Deputie conferred upon me, thoughe the same partelie in his kindenesse towards me, yet moste especiallie in your lordshippe's moste honorable knowne favor unto me ; which, with all humble thankfullnesse, I acknowledge to the same : albeit, right honorable, scarcelie the honor of her majesty's daye, thoughe perhappes in this cuntrie it woulde not have passed withoute some imputacione to me, coulde have made me have donne lesse then eaven that daye to have fledde from it in like sorte as divers dayes before in the eyes of manye I was seene to have done, and that daye likewise intended to have donne, if, in the middeste of the sermonn, I had not expreslie, and that publicuelie, ben sente unto from my Lorde Deputie himselfe not to departe the churche before his lordshippe had spoken with

me, but that a certaine hope did in some measure edge me unto it; which was to be by the countenance thereof hereafter in her majesty's service thoughte more worthie place of some comaunde to shoue (in my willingnesse to the same) either vertue or the wante therof in mee, then otherwise withoute the same perhapps I should have ben; which, sithence my marryinge dayes be now spente, being the onelie use I looke to make of it, my moste humble suite to your lordshippe is in that behalfe (as occasions maye serve), either at land or sea, in this land or else where soever, to be therin furthered in your lordshipp's moste honorable usuall favoure unto me; beseechinge the Allmightie to blesse your lordshippe with his favoure in a longe and happie contynuaunce amongste us. From Dublin the 1st of December, 1593; and rest

Your lordshipp's most humble,

RAFE LANE.

Addressed

To the Right Honorable my most especiaall good lorde,

LORD BURLEIGHE, L. Treasurer of Englande.

This at the courte. From Dublin, 1st December. [Signed only.]

I add a letter from Lane, in which he alludes to his wound, at a time when he supposed that he might not recover. It was written at Kilkenny, from the castle of the Earl of Ormond,<sup>5</sup> and contains a curious view of Lane's property, prospects, and debts, at that time. I doubt if I could quote any single document which should throw so much light upon his condition and character.

*Sir Rafe Lane to Burghleighe.*<sup>6</sup>

RIGHT HONORABLE MY MOST ESPECIALLE GOOD LORDE, — Albeit my recoverie is neither in myne owne feelings, nor, in

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas, the tenth earl, the rival of Leicester, and opponent of the house of Desmond.

<sup>6</sup> State-paper Office; Ireland.

the opinyone of the chirurgions, soe hopelesse, but that, at the good pleasure of the Allmightie, the same is possible inoughe, yet beinge suche at the date hearof as I have certified Sir Roberte Gardenor, I am moste humblie to beseeche your lordshippe's mediation for me to her moste excellent majesty (whome the Allmightie, in his infinite mercie for Christe his sake, evermore protecte and blesse) in that my humble suite, which I have requested him to recomend by a letter from him selfe to your lordshippe, touchinge the successione of this myne office of muster master, after my decease, to Sir Henrie Duke, whome I am like to leave in bondes for me: wherunto in like sorte, and that onelie alsoe by your lordshippe's charitable mediacone, I am moste humblie to beseeche the Earle of Essex to afforde me his honorable consente; and, by the like goodnes and pietie of your lordshippe, for her highnes' graciouse regraunte towards the dyscharge of my Englande deptes, of Copley his landes, to my selfe and my nephew William Lane, and the captaineshippe of Southsea to my nephew Roberte Lane, and my selfe with the renninge of that my pattente for the concealed landes and chattailles of fugitives and persons atteinted of treasonne in all oure thre [our three] names, for the satisfacone of myne and my nephew William Lane his deptes, incurred therby for me by the same, bothe to my kinsman John Durrante and others, which I doe finde myselfe in conscience greatlie burdened withall, yf I shoulde departe the worlde, and leave him and other poore men in [no ?] likelie means of satisfacone. And, right honorable, I am enforced, for lacke of an other suite, humblie to insiste upon that myne ould pattente, and even to make my will of that which was not given us, but dearlie boughte, by my nephew William Lane and myselfe, of Sir Edwarde Stafforde, for five hundred and fortie powndes; which we fullie paide him within sixe monethes nexte immediatlie after the date of the saide letters pattentes, as his extante acquitannce to the pattentees is to be humblie presented to your lordshippe

by my nephew William Lane. For the which charitable and moste Christian grace, sithence neither the supposed concealed wardes which your lordshippe, immediatly before my cominge over into this relme [realm], graunted me, but all my moste noble frend his charges therin loste, neither eny grote for my adventure in the great prize restored unto me; noe, not soe muche as eny penny of my principall: as alsoe without the same, whether I live or dye, I shall praie to the Allmightie for the contynuall moste blessed protecion of her majesty's moste royall personne, and for your lordshippe, to leave a perpetuall acknowledgmente to my posteritie, that, lyving or dyinge, I reste moste bounden to the same, as knowethe the Allmightie, whoe evermore blesse your lordshippe.

From Kilkenny, wher I am moste singularlie cherished by the Erle and the Countesse, the 6th of Maye, 1594; and rest

“Your lordship's

“Most humble and most bownden,”<sup>7</sup>



Addressed

To the Right Honorable my most especiall good lorde,  
the LORDE BURLEIGHE, Lorde High Thresorer of  
Englande, att the courte this.

It appears, from later letters, that Lane recovered from the wounds here alluded to; but his strength was failing him. In 1595, he says the musters are too great for him. In 1600-1, under date of Feb. 4, the Lord-Deputy writes to Cecil, that “Sir Rafe Lane's

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<sup>7</sup> The words after “rest” are all that are in Lane's own handwriting.

extreme weakness unfits him for the place of muster-master." There is, however, a despatch of Lane's as late as 1603-4. Although we have found no precise memorandum of the date of his death, I have no doubt that it took place in the year 1604. Mr. Hans C. Hamilton, who has the charge of the Irish Papers, has been kind enough to examine them with reference to this point. He writes me thus:—

"I have not been able to find any thing about Lane's death in our papers; but in Lascelles's '*Liber Munerum Publicorum Hibernice*,' part ii. p. 99, I find, 'Upon Sir Ralph Lane's death, by petition to the king, Fullerton showed the decay of his office of muster-master-general, and clerk of the chequer, by the diminishing of the army in Ireland, and craved some bettering of his entertainment in that respect: whereupon his majesty was pleased to grant unto him, &c.' A reference here to Roll No. 51 shows 'grant of the office of muster-master-general, and clarke of the cheque, to Sir James Fullerton, kn't. 4 Jany. 3rd. Pat. Off.' Thus it is clear Sir Ralph Lane was dead before 4th January, 1605-6; which was the third year of James I."

Failing to discover the time and place of Lane's death, I was unable to visit, as I had hoped, the place of his burial. In these closing years of his unsatisfactory life, he little thought that his only chance for memory in the after-centuries was connected with the failure of his expedition to America. I cannot find any mention of him in any contemporary writer, excepting the brief mention of his return from the Colony which he did not plant as he should have done. He seems to have been an eager courtier, a bold soldier,



a good disciplinarian, an incompetent governor, a credulous adventurer, and on the whole, though not a worthless, an unsuccessful man. He had one chance for immortality. He might have been the founder, on this continent, of the United States of America. That chance, without any reasons of weight, he threw away. His Colony was, at the moment he deserted it, amply supplied by Drake with all that a truly resolute man would have demanded. Failing that chance, he never had another. The Muster-master-General of Ireland sank slowly into an unknown grave, childless and forgotten. History has passed him by as he deserved, till the children of the American nation which he did not plant have explored the almost worthless records he left behind him, to try to find what man he was, to whom, by misfortune, Raleigh intrusted the infant fortunes of Virginia.

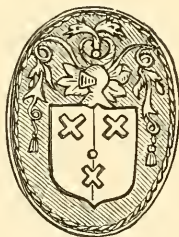
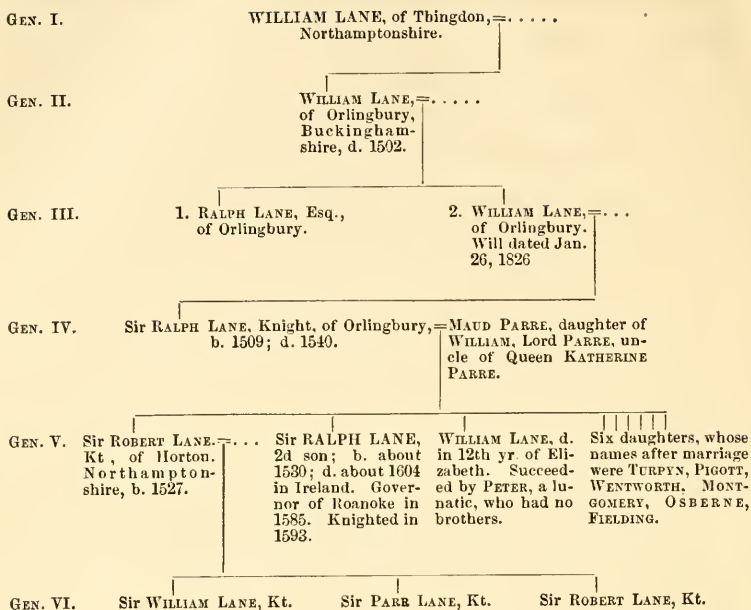
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Lane had never married in 1593, and probably did not marry afterwards. The county historians of Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire give us materials, from which, with those found in his own letters, we have constructed the following table of his genealogy.<sup>8</sup> His own letters contain such allusions to his family as to make it certain that he is the RALPH LANE of the fifth generation named here ; but the county historians know nothing of his history, and do not mention his knighthood, as they should do.

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<sup>8</sup> From Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire and Whalley's Northamptonshire.





SEAL OF LANE'S ENGLISH LETTERS.

## NOTICE

OF

SAMUEL JENNISON, ESQ.,

LATE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY THE PRESIDENT,

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

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*From the Semi-annual Report of the Council to the Society, at a Meeting in Boston,  
April 25, 1860.*

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IN performing the stated duty of reporting to the American Antiquarian Society its condition and its operations in the last half-year, the Council must first speak of sorrow and loss. No other topic can take precedence of a recent incident, which deeply affects the interests of the Society, — the decease of SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., of Worcester; who, for twenty-eight years, has faithfully taken charge of the finances of the Society; and, for a longer term, has zealously, judiciously, constantly, and punctually performed the duty of a member of the Council, and endeared himself to his associates by the purity of his character, the refinement of his taste, and the generosity of his disposition. Mr. Jennison died on the 11th of March last, after a short attack of pulmonary disease. On the 14th of the same month, at a

Special Meeting of the Council, called to take notice of the lamented event, Hon. Ira M. Barton presented the following resolutions : —

Whereas the recent sudden and lamented decease of SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., the Treasurer of this Society, and, *ex officio*, a member of this Council, who, with distinguished usefulness and ability, sustained various official relations to this Institution, calls for an expression of our respect for his memory, to be perpetuated upon our records : —

*Resolved*, That, from a long and intimate social as well as official intercourse with Mr. Jennison, we unanimously testify to his refined taste and great erudition as an antiquarian and a general scholar, to his wisdom in council, to his fidelity and accuracy in finance, to his virtues as an agreeable associate, and to his honor and integrity as a man.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be instructed to place these resolutions upon the records of the Council, and to communicate a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

These resolutions were adopted, after they had been seconded and enforced by very feeling and eloquent remarks from Hon. Levi Lincoln, which received a heartfelt response from all the members of the Council. No one could, with so becoming grace, describe the merit of Mr. Jennison, as your distinguished Vice-President; whose services of earlier date, and not inferior in value, seem to be refreshed and invigorated by the richness of his experience.

Mr. Jennison was one of the oldest members of this Society. He held the office of Librarian from 1814 to 1825. For three years, he was the Corresponding Secretary; and, for an equal term, he was a member of the Committee of Publication. Though he was not of this Committee when the last volume of Transactions was issued, he contributed to that volume the pleasant

Memoir, which is the Introduction to the "Diaries of John Hull." Though his own resources were always limited, he faithfully performed the duties of your Treasurer, with a salary too small to be deemed a compensation, from 1829 till his decease; with an interval of three years, when he declined, and Hon. Alfred D. Foster held the office. His lamented decease terminated thirty-two years of zealous and efficient service as a Councillor. But the loss of this Association cannot be measured by the advantage of the official labors of our friend, and the excellence of his "Biography of James Ralph," and other papers, which will yet be useful and honorable in the publications of this Society. In the enforced leisure of a slight decay of his physical powers, his life has been a course of daily contribution to the advantage of this Society; and his extensive and accurate knowledge of biography and history was ever gushing forth for the benefit of any thirsty and wandering inquirer.

Mr. Jennison was born in Brookfield, Mass., on the twenty-fourth day of February, 1788. His father was Samuel Jennison, Esq., a graduate of Harvard College, and a member of the legal profession. His paternal grandfather was Dr. William Jennison, a respected physician in the same town; where also resided his maternal grandfather, Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D., an influential clergyman, and a ready and popular writer on the topics of the day. Brookfield was then prominent among the interior towns of New England for its wealth and intelligence, and for prevalent habits of intellectual culture among leading adult mem-

bers of society. There was in the possession of our friend an interesting evidence of this circumstance, in a book of the Records of the Minerva Society, which enrolled, and compelled to systematic mutual improvement, the prominent citizens of that town. Such were the influences which surrounded the boyhood of Mr. Jennison. At the age of twelve years, he removed to Worcester, and first received so much of mercantile education as could be had in a country shop for drugs and a variety of merchandise ; of which the proprietor was his uncle, Hon. Oliver Fiske, M.D., a man of wit and agreeable talents, and apparently capable of far greater success in the medical profession and in trade than he obtained from either. After two years of training as an accountant in the Worcester Bank, — then one of the two banks, west of Boston, in Massachusetts, — in the year 1812, at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Jennison was appointed the cashier of that bank ; and, with little assistance, he performed this trust faithfully and acceptably for thirty-four years. In 1828, he assumed the additional charge of Treasurer of the Worcester-County Institution for Savings at its organization ; and he was the executive officer of both corporations for eight years, and then withdrew from the bank, and devoted himself to the Savings Institution, where, as in all his life, he economized every thing but his own labor until 1853 ; when he resigned, and left the amount of deposits gathered under his popular administration at the large sum of \$1,474,312. The burden of his cares in these offices cannot be weighed by the experience of the present day, when precedent, sys-

tem, and the division of labor, have, in a great degree, reduced this service to an easy routine. In the official period of Mr. Jennison, the banks of our country extended their operations, from a simple agency for loans, to weave themselves into the whole financial business of productive industry; and he had the task to meet the exigencies of the change. These were heavy trusts, such as sometimes break down the physical and intellectual powers of men; but they could not occupy his power for labor. For many years, at different periods, he was the Treasurer and the Clerk of the town of Worcester; for ten years he was the Treasurer of the large and important State Lunatic Hospital in Worcester; and he held other public and private offices, and always acceptably and well. The larger part of those who met him in his daily duties would describe him as a man absorbed in the material business of the day, and contented with its routine; and they may wonder that the praise of scholarship is awarded to him: but he moved among men of business, though not of them, in a cloud of thoughts which were not their thoughts. His conscience was in his daily routine: but his heart was in the memories of history and biography, which he rejoiced to gather; in truths of religion and philosophy, in which he delighted; in the indulgence of his playful imagination; and in the exercise of his ready and graceful pen in prose and verse, which he often contributed, for general entertainment and instruction, through the daily press, with a concealment of authorship, which was the dictate of his retiring modesty. At different times, in the last month of his life, he pub-



lished in this manner an agreeable notice of the family of Edward Rawson, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Colony from the year 1650 to 1686, in reference to portraits of him and his interesting daughter, recently deposited in the Hall of this Society by Mr. Reuben Rawson Dodge; and also some pleasant rhymes on one of the follies of the day.

In his intellectual traits, the late Treasurer was a type of the founders and most efficient supporters of the Society. Such men constantly demonstrate that the saying of the wise son of Sirach, that "the wisdom of a learned man comes by opportunity of leisure," is, in a double sense, apocryphal. The sublime thoughts and wise principles of action, announced by Plato in the retirement of the Academus, are disfigured by distempers of the judgment and the imagination, which the rough discipline of common life would tend to correct. John Locke had no deficiency of natural gifts and every supposed facility of learning, and only a want of "a street education," when he framed for Carolina the celebrated Fundamental Constitutions, to be "the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government for ever;" which have been justly described as "a vast labyrinth of perplexing regulations," "unfavorable to human liberty and happiness." In the straits and fatigues of laborious life, the statesmen of our Revolution were trained for their arduous and successful task; and the foremost man of our time gained and upholds his imperial throne with the suffrages of tumultuous France, and now exercises a more glorious supremacy — with the reluctant concession of the kingdoms and states of Europe — by

wisdom and skill acquired in no opportunities of leisure. As all history shows that the exigencies of a people make and call out heroes and statesmen ; so the experience of individual life proves that the highest wisdom comes not so often in the opportunities of leisure as in the urgency of business.



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ERRATA.

Page 30, line 20, for " east " read " west."

Page 103, line 1 of note, for " Huntington " read " Huntingdon."















